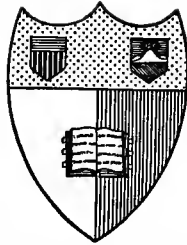


Universal Peace

Victor Hugo Buras



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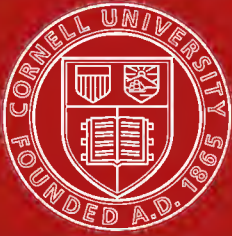
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UNIVERSAL PEACE
BY
INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT



Victor Hugo Duras

UNIVERSAL PEACE

VICTOR HUGO DURAS

L.L.B., L.L.M., D.C.L., M.Dip.



NEW YORK

BROADWAY PUBLISHING COMPANY

1908

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Dedicated
With Profound
Respect and Gratitude
to
Andrew Carnegie
President Peace Society of New York
Founder, Palace of Peace
at
The Hague

*“Vox Populi vox Dei
Vox Dei vox Populi.”*

PREFACE.

THE sole reason that prompts me to publish this work on peace is my deep interest in the subject, which I consider the greatest and most laudable that has ever engaged the sober thought of a people. For years I have watched this universal movement, and have borne in mind the conclusions set forth in this book; but I had not considered the time auspicious or opportune for making these views public, for fear they might have been considered impracticable, idealistic and chimerical.

Even to-day, while the influences that bind the world together in common interests are seen at work, I am not satisfied that my most worthy and learned reader will not consider me a dreamer, and I can ask only for his indulgence while I portray the future in the colors of the past, sincerely hoping that time will bear me out in my predictions, which are based entirely upon historical facts.

It is very easy and natural to call a man an idealist when he promulgates some new and large idea, but in a clearer light we are to-day seeing things which were undreamed of a decade ago, and the rapidity with which progress is making revolutionary changes right before our eyes is astonishing. Why, then, should we consider those things unreasonable which past events

have demonstrated entirely feasible and practicable? And I believe it is simply a matter of time that will prove my views quite correct.

As more events of historic interest have been crowded into the nineteenth century than in all past time, we may reasonably believe that there will be more activity in international affairs in the twentieth century than there was up to its beginning.

The second Hague Conference is at a close, and the most significant fact of it all is that here, at an international conference, the governments which have been unanimously fighting representative institutions and democracy, within and without the armed camp of Europe, have participated in this conference, and have thus recognized the justice in the democratic idea of "majority rule." The ruler of the most undemocratic government has launched the first conference, and upon the initiative of a ruler of the most democratic government the second conference was convoked, thus recognizing the right of an imperial sovereign to convoke future conferences at the instance of a democratic ruler.

The first Hague Conference made the peace conference a permanent congress of nations, which we may say is a ligament of an International Government, substituting law for war as it really is to-day.

I deem it very significant that in my travels over Europe, where national boundaries practically bristle with bayonets and swords to protect the existing national dividing lines (which are being obliterated by

economic ties), I had been able to commute from one capital to another without the least hindrance and without a passport.

In view of the fact that "UNIVERSAL PEACE" carries so vast an idea, I have concluded that in order to establish its practicability it is necessary for me to show that the "United Nations of the World," commonly called the confederation of the world, has been in the minds of men from time almost immemorial; hence I quote from the works of ancient and modern authors, and take great pleasure in giving due credit to the authorities I cite in my bibliography.

This manuscript was written after my tour of the old continent in 1905, during which I made a special study of politics, diplomacy and militarism in Europe, and has not been published at an earlier date owing to the foregoing reasons, so I offer this work to the public without fear, favor or prejudice.

But slight revision has been made to incorporate the second Hague Conference.

I shall plunge into my arguments without further comment, as explanations are most uninteresting.

VICTOR H. DURAS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 18, 1908.

INTRODUCTORY.

ARBITRATION is the art of settling disputes without resort to arms. In order to obtain a clear and comprehensive knowledge of the development of arbitration it is necessary to give a brief outline of the evolution of the tendency toward peace, as shown in various ancient peoples' customs.

The Greeks.—The Amphictyonic Council of the Greeks, known by some writers as a board of international arbitration, was modeled on the lines of the Kantian scheme. Although it was a religious assembly, it cemented the provinces closer and closer together into a unity by protecting a common temple of worship in the Delphic Amphictyonic oath.

The Romans.—The Romans showed a tendency of peace by closing the doors of the Temple of Janus. Janus was worshipped as the god of the year and as the arbiter of peace and war. On the first of the year the armies retired in peace over the Empire.

The Teutons.—In the Middle Ages the "Truce of God," so often proclaimed by the clergy, limited the sphere of war, protected unarmed women and children and consecrated places.

We see that the forces favoring the abolition of war have been in progress almost from the beginning of

organized government and that the right of peace and the wrong of war were ever recognized. So, coming events cast their shadows before, and no one can dispute the possibility of an international government as a result of the Hague Tribunal.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

International peace has been in the minds of great men from the beginning of organized government, ever reverberating in importance. Hugo Grotius declared that the congress of Christian nations should be held and controversies should be decided by third parties. Henry IV. of France called a congress to discuss the maintenance of peace. William Penn published a scheme for the establishment of a European Diet. Abbé Saint-Pierre, Bentham, Kant and others devised schemes along different lines. Military conquerors had the idea in mind. Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon argued that only military conquest could bring about universal peace.

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PRINCIPLES OF NATIONS.

I.

ARBITRATION.

IN this treatise it is my purpose to deal primarily with the causes that bring about international arbitration, pointing out the causes that have brought about the adjustment of international dispute without resort to the force of arms, "or war." It is my further purpose to point out that while peace and war are antithetic, they are still relative and comparable conditions, and that Universal Peace is possible only by the establishment of a system of International Government.

I do not believe in the pessimistic idea that war is purgatory or in the optimistic idea that peace is paradise; for if war is hell, peace must be heaven, and they have nothing to do with earthly things.

Perpetual peace and the eternal abolition of war are as inconsistent and illogical as perpetual war and the eternal abolition of peace, for as long as human beings inhabit the earth there will be a life of strife and self-sacrifice. The very law of nature is the law of the survival of the fittest and a law of struggle.

War is armed struggle, civilized and legalized wholesale murder, and is but an evolutionary phenomenon

in the efforts of mankind toward self-preservation and survival of the strongest and fittest.

Peace is the absence of this armed struggle between peoples, sections and nations, as such.

It is the latter of which I shall speak in this dissertation.

As a hypothesis it is, then, true that there is no such thing as perpetual peace, for there is no condition that can remain perpetual in this world. But there is such a thing as an extended universal peace, and modern civilization is far enough advanced for the consideration of this world's peace, "*Magnus Pax Orbum.*" Ancient and mediæval nations have turned to ways of peace again and again, only to be disturbed by another and another call to arms; but as peace is the normal condition of society, they had come back to it again and again, for a nation's life rests upon the soldier, be he behind the Gatling gun, or the gunner on a battleship, or at the helm of an airship (which is destined to become one of the most deadly implements of future wars), and the individual must return to the pursuits of peace long before his implements and munitions of warfare are exhausted.

So we see that modern warfare is not primarily a blow at the human life of a nation, but at its wealth, at the ten-million-dollar battleship (or at the airships, which will hereafter determine the destiny of nations), and war is becoming an international fight between dollars.

The purpose of every war and the prompting cause,

in the last analysis, is, was and ever will be, economic; and during the commerce of international trade only a naval flotilla can protect the commerce of a nation and secure a market.

In this commercial strife the importance of infantry diminishes as the field of battle is transferred to the high seas, with the acquisition of wealth as a goal. Many strained relations and conflicts are bound to be the result of the Eastern question, as the powers are developing their sphere of influence in China and other regions, for China is the commercial prize of the world, and is certainly the basis of future international conflicts. In fact, as one surveys the situation he cannot help but foresee a world conflict over this commercial prize, for the first sight of the "Yellow Peril" is actually perceived in the success of the Japanese over the Russians.

This war has proven the abject helplessness of a nation without a navy, where international strength is being statistically estimated so closely that the result of a conflict may be foretold, and the old notion of a fight for the sake of honor is being done away with, and especially against a power which is demonstrably unconquerable no nation will wage war.

We often hear that wars are a good thing, and it is certainly true that wars have been the cornerstones of civilization, for they have developed the Stone, Copper and Iron and Steel ages. They have built up nations and they have destroyed them.

Again and again the world has been disrupted in the

turmoils of war, but the spirit of the people would subside finally to the ways of peace. There is, however, such a thing as armed peace in the preparation for war—a modern propaganda that has kept the modern civilized world in *statu quo* for over a century. There have been but few wars that have involved the whole civilized world, or universal wars. Although such general convulsions have disturbed the peace of the world, these have not been as disastrous as many smaller conflicts. The world has been in a state of war but few times, which shows that peace is the normal condition or status of civilized nations as between themselves.

War, then, is an abnormal condition of affairs by reason of its being against the safety of men's lives and against the laws of human nature and of the higher enlightenment of civilization. A soldier refrains from the promptings of nature and against his instincts of self-preservation through motives of self-sacrifice and patriotism. Hence war is usually to be found prevailing among semi-civilized nations, and peace becomes more and more the normal state of society as it progresses in civilization.

There is no warfare in absolute savagery, because there are no instruments of warfare among the savages. It is only when the savage becomes a barbarian and first picks up a stick that he can engage in war. It is said that the progress of civilization holds in abeyance the petty conflicts that might exist during the barbarian state, but aggravates the evils of warfare

by the use of improved instruments of destruction and tactics on a large scale. There is a kernel of truth in this statement, but it is likewise a fact that modern warfare is not a struggle to exterminate life, as in mediæval times, but a war of economic destruction of the instruments of warfare. When the machinery of strife is destroyed a nation falls helplessly at the feet of the destroyer, and as nations become maritime powers, which is the tendency in commercial times like these, entire merchant marine fleets are at the mercy of destroying agents.

It is still, however, a fact that the ultimate strength of a nation is in the individual man, and when all men become citizens of the united world we can see that his patriotism will subside as to any particular section or nation.

However, as history shows that great conflicts are followed by prolonged peace, we may well say that in many instances war brings about peace, and when we hear the doctrine of "peace at any price," even if we have to fight for it, we know war does really bring about peace.

To-day the western powers are Christianizing the Asiatics, as did the Crusaders centuries ago, and who knows but that the joining of hands in this movement will unite the civilized powers of the western world, as the Crusades united the feudal lords, and thus brought about the modern European states? Every one knows that a great world conflict would be so destructive that the people would shudder at the waste of wealth and

life and declare an international brotherhood. God works in mysterious ways for righteousness.

Are not then, all human tendencies toward the recognition of the international court of arbitration, and is there not a general consensus of opinion against the economic greed of commerce? Is it possible that this very commercial conflict is bringing about a merger or internationality tending to perpetuate civilization and not to destroy it? If this be true, is there not such a possibility as an international government? In the development of this industrial and commercial age the world is bound to grow smaller in its distances, lines of traffic shorter and the nations more and more uniform in ideas and ideals, for the solvent rays of universal ideas will certainly bring all the people into one body politic. Numerous international conferences are annually held, which points a tendency toward internationalization.

The history of the world shows that as society develops it becomes united over broader and broader areas, taking in more and more peoples into one body politic. Athens became too powerful and enlightened to allow her sister cities to stand out against her, and incorporated them, as did Rome. With coequal and co-ordinate states where the balance of power can play, such a political body is impossible, but when one state becomes pre-eminently over-powerful, such a political state is not only possible but inevitable.

The signs of the times point toward this predomi-

nance in America; yet who knows but what America is premature, as was England, and that Russia is to be the real guardian of the future World State?

Constantinople is called in Russian "Tzarograd," or the City of the Tzar. Who knows but that the Tzar's rescript of August 24, 1898, convoking the Peace Conference, has brought about the first bond of a world federation by the establishment of the International Court at The Hague as the first branch of a system of International Government?

RIGHT OF WAR.

IN the evolution of the beast to the man the change was slight, for he was still a savage. The beast falls upon his prey and kills according to the natural law of appetite. The savage did likewise, and killed with but little discrimination as to the quality and quantity of the food. He came down from the tree when he lost his tail, or conversely he lost his tail when he came down from the tree and began his savage, barbarian and individualistic life. He was still quite as sovereign as the beast that fell upon his prey. He substituted the family as the unit of society. He united the families into tribes for common protection; into democracies, republics and empires for the same reason. He built cities, states and nations to protect himself from his fellow-man.

During all this process of development this individual "man" sunk lower and lower into society, ever

losing his individual right and natural liberty to kill or act without the sanction of the community.

Individual man merged into social man, and is surrendering more and more of his natural freedom as he is becoming socialized. During all this development man discovered fire, and that is all-important, for there is no power that does not emanate from friction, and the force of fire is constantly diminishing the sphere of the right of war.

The development of cities, states and nations has continually broadened the area where the right of war is being limited and usurped by the governmental forces.

Athens and Rome spread this sphere over the known world, and since the fall of these empires we can see the same tendency toward the reunion of the broken-up parts of the world's area, as the nations are being reconstructed again and again along more natural and more reasonable lines.

Although we may always have revolution and rebellion, we can see how, by the union of the states of the world, we can do away with international wars. *Simply for the reason that there will be but one nation, and international war will be an impossibility.* If, then, the right of armament will lie in the international government, all conflict will be but rebellion and revolution, and the right of international war will be absolutely eliminated by the government of the World State.

Only as an international right is the right of war

to-day conceivable. By this I do not mean the justification of war or that war determines what is right, but the right as it is recognized by and between nations, with relation to one another. But inasmuch as the nations, according to their present ideas of right, do not wish war, and consequently accept in practice what is wrong in principle, we may reasonably expect a growing federation which will develop the positive idea of a World State as a preventive of international war. Such a union will hold in check the lawless and hostile passions of men high up in the affairs of government.

Originally no one race of people had the superior right to occupy any particular portion of the earth's surface, but their final attachment to the soil made communities of men separated by seas, mountains and deserts. Man has conquered the ocean, tunneled the mountains, and drawn segregated communities into one world community, so that it is easier to go around the world to-day than it was to cross a continent fifty years ago. The remotest peoples have come into friendly relations with one another and are being governed by a most mutual public law which is drawing them closer into a world-citizenship. The community of the nations of the earth has advanced so far that an injustice in one part of the world is felt throughout its extent, and the idea of cosmopolitan universal right is no fantastic and strained conception of right, but is only the completion of the unwritten law. This code speaks not only for the rights of the states, but of the

peoples as well, so as to make it coextensive with the rights of men in general, through the establishment of which international peace may come. This guarantee is furnished by nothing else than the great artist and harmonizer, *Natura dædala rerum*.

The idea of international right presupposes a number of independent states; and although such a state of things is really a state of contemplated war, unless there is some federate union between them to prevent outbreaks of hostility, yet from the standpoint of reason such a condition is better than the fusion of all states into one state through power, when such a union is premature and unreasonable. Every great statesman and ruler has attempted by various means to bring the world to a state of lasting peace by placing greater and greater areas under his sway. But imperfect topography has willed it otherwise, for she has divided the peoples by oceans, rivers and mountains. Civilization is just beginning to surmount these difficulties, and is bringing common customs and religion to all the peoples. It is only by fusion and reaction among each other of the various dispositions and traits of the different races that a lasting union can be established, and not by arbitrary power. Hence the right of war has done much to bring nations and peoples together as well as to sever them, for it has guaranteed that all lasting confederation shall be based upon just and natural foundations, and as the surrendering of arms to a superior power by a locality for protection is com-

monly considered as the broadening of the sphere of peace and the limiting of the right of war, this right of peace is destined to substitute the right of war.

ANARCHISM—LIBERALISM—SOCIALISM.

SINCE the beginning of organized government there have been two economic and political forces at work, individualism and socialism. In history, the evolutionary development of these antagonistic forces have been known by various terms, according to their expressions, as democracy versus absolutism, individualism versus socialism, and anarchism versus communism. In all these systems and organizations the two forces are at opposition to one another, the one tending towards centralization, the other towards decentralization, and of necessity the triumph of one means the ruin of the other. However, these two forces can never absolutely overcome each other, although at times it seems that one force has so submerged the other that its influence cannot be felt.

The normal condition exists when these are at an equilibrium. The history of government shows that in society the normal status is the most usual and the most beneficent, and that absolute centralization or absolute decentralization of power is quite unusual. These forces develop a democracy out of an aristocracy as well as a plutocracy out of a democracy. The French Republic is an example of the development of the former, and the American Empire of the latter, for we

have to-day an imperial republic in the United States and their colonies.

The modern doctrine of evolution is sound in its application to the principles of government and to the conditions of society, as well as to nature.

The work of natural selection is nowhere so unremitting and remorseless as in the development of the processes of government. By the force of the natural law that "might is right," and the logical law that "right is might," political institutions of necessity rest upon popular assent, and the final and ultimate source of all government is in the consent of the peoples governed. The many are stronger than the few, and the majority is ever the ultimate strength source of all government. If, then, might and right are identical, when the government of a majority is good the majority is entitled to the fruits of its own efforts; if it is bad, they have only to partake of their own government.

The Reformation was a struggle between individualism and socialism, as the struggle for religious liberty was but a fight for political and economic liberty in that conflict; and while constitutions have grown up to protect the individualism of the people, they are working as well for their socialization.

Constitutions and constitutional governments had their existence before the modern state systems, for Athens and Rome had their constitutions before they were superseded by the will of the Emperor during the existence of the Empire. When these empires were

established there was secured to the civilized world the result which had sought establishment for so many centuries, namely, the establishment of a public control so organized and so endowed with power as to provide a means whereby domestic peace and order and freedom from external interference could be secured to the whole population.

This spread of power made the "*Magnus-Pax Romanum*" possible.

Deprived of this universal unity wherein administration was based upon a crude localized government, the centrifugal forces failed and the weakened empire relapsed into the disorders of the Dark Ages. After the fall of the last world-empire the great struggle for territorial sovereignty began, known as Feudalism, and then came the struggle for imperial rule, known as nationalism.

Every great period of social and political reconstruction has invariably been brought about by a great change in the opinions and modes of thinking of society, as the spirit of the time is only the result of the thought in that country at such a time, while the thought of a nation is principally the product of the geographical environment as it impresses itself upon the inhabitants. Thus we may see why the West is permeated with the spirit of individualism and the East with socialism, while liberalism is the middle ground, where it is ever camping and holding in balance these diametrically opposing forces.

Liberalism has fostered the *laissez-faire* doctrine, and

the free competition of the West begins to fade away as it is invaded by the spirit of socialism from the East.

It is likewise a notable fact that the very principle of local sovereignty which was the main difficulty that Rome had to contend with in incorporating other peoples is facilitated and done away with by the principle of representation—a principle which to-day is the most important factor in successfully binding political bodies together, as it guarantees a certain amount of independence and makes possible the Universal Empire towards which civilization is ever moving, under the benignant influences of popular government and liberalism in thought.

COLONIZATION AND COMMERCE.

THE age of commerce has begun and colonial expansion, its complement, is bringing on the war for trade and land. The Congress of Berlin brought about the "Armed Peace" which is unexampled since the age of the Antonines in its duration and integrity, for it has settled numerous disputes over colonial territory.

This armed peace, the legacy of Bismarck and Moltke to the world, has been for two decades the dominant factor in European international politics. Amid constant rumors of war, the temper of responsible statesmen has never before been less warlike, for the spirit of commerce cannot tolerate war, and sooner or later conflict of arms must give way to the peaceful conflict of trade. Above all the forces at the disposal

of the state, the powers of wealth are the most indispensable, for states see themselves compelled not only by motives of morality to further the maintenance of peace, and mediation steps in to prevent war wherever there is a threatened conflict and a lack of capital to carry on war.

In the leagues of the great powers the primary motive was ever the preservation of peace, and they were only successful according to the unanimity of the compact, for Nature herself guarantees international peace through the mechanism of human inclinations. Public opinion is less likely to declare war, in the face of its modern consequences, especially where every man is liable to military service. And so, in spite of the national rivalries, which have never been more intense than they are becoming in this commercial age, in spite of unhealed sores and new wounds, the peace of the world remains founded upon the common fear of war.

Of course, as human nature is fickle, public opinion is shifty and public will changeable; but as certainly as public welfare is governed by commerce, so certainly does trade govern the public will and make the attainment of peace not at all chimerical. Commerce is indeed the white-winged dove of peace, for it has bridged the rivers, tunneled the mountains, conquered the seas, and is obliterating all barriers to civilization and human brotherhood.

There is but one barrier left, but one force working against unification, and that is brute force. We may

well ask: If trade is the cementer of the world, will not the system of competition give way to a system of profit-sharing? Think of the economic injustice of the competitive system in the industrial world of to-day, where thousands are being enslaved by the few, where women and children are selling their blood, bone and marrow for a living. Why is it so?

The United States are to-day embarking into the colonial and commercial struggle where the powers of Europe have been struggling in the past centuries. It is purely a struggle for the survival of the fittest along economic lines, for colonies are gathered in like fruit and left to ripen until they are ready to be devoured. In other words, nations of necessity begin colonial administration with leniency and benevolence because the colonies must first be developed before they can be exploited.

Nations must also begin this system with strong invitations for outstanding colonies to come into the empire; but later on the will of an outstanding weaker power has little to do with its consent, and the stronger powers wage the wars of conquest, whether they be economic or military. If there is a justification of colonization, it is the attempt to broaden intelligence and peace over a greater area and to enlighten more peoples; in other words, give them the blessings of civilization.

Religion is the greatest force besides economic interests that makes for colonization. The Crusades divulged the culture and wealth of the East to the

West, although under the forces of religion are ever at play the economic forces of temporal interests; for had the feudal lords thought that the deliverance of the Holy Cross from the Mussulman was against their commercial interests, they would never have organized huge armies, whatever were their religious persuasions.

Religion has been given the credit of having civilized the world, and as historians follow its force from Pagan, Ancestral, Terrestrial and Divine worship, they ever assert that religion is the dominant force that makes for enlightenment; and faith is really the greatest force in the world, but there is no faith that acts against man's interest. It is indeed true that faith, belief and confidence are the most wonderful means to move people to the accomplishment of things; but behind every motive, however religious, there is the economic want, the desire for betterment.

India would not have had English missionaries if they were working against England's economic interests. Missions would not exist in the semi-civilized colonies to-day if it were against the commercial interests of the mother country.

As I have stated, the East is the history of the past and the West the history of the future. The people of the East have grown weak by centralization in government, and the people of the West remain strong by the forces of dis-centralization in government, where the individual has greater opportunity for development. Culture and finesse are of the East; boldness and strength are the elements of the West. This fact

is beautifully illustrated by a legend of the Crusades. The feudal lord severed a horseshoe by the muscular strength of his arms in a contest between Eastern and Western civilization. The Moslem called forth a harlot from his harem; she waved her veil into the air, where it stayed as a cloud, slowly changing form and floating to the ground.

This contest distinctly shows the refinedness and sentiment of the East and the brute force of the West of to-day, yesterday and to-morrow. As in a sonata, different but related themes are successively introduced in a first movement, to be combined and developed in a second movement; so, in universal history, the ideals of nations are successively presented to mankind by the peoples' aspirations and achievements, making up the story of ancient history; and they have been combined and recapitulated in harmonies of marvelous complexity in the history of the peoples that began the theme and completed it as the peoples of the East.

Only by the contact of the peoples of the East have these themes been developed, combined and recapitulated by the peoples of the West. The ancient empires of Babylon and Egypt were, above all else, embodiments of power, the first magnificent achievements in civic unity and military strength of which we know. They were the first to achieve the task of cementing aggregations of barbarian tribes and organizing them into one mighty body politic which covered the then known world. These were stupendous undertakings,

and their success depended upon the possibility of establishing and maintaining among elements of population originally diverse a relatively perfect homogeneity of interest, beliefs and habits, and only after the union came the culture and refinement.

This was accomplished by the primitive and yet modern policy of colonization which sought to subject all men under the same military discipline, to worship the same God, to wear prescribed costumes, and to order their daily lives by prescribed rules. By these means were created centralized governments of unprecedented power, and by their activity in conquest great wealth was amassed and material magnificence was made possible. Power and prosperity were, then, cherished ideals of that ancient empire.

Even beyond these stages of moral development, individuals no doubt succeed in passing; but the nations of Babylon and Egypt in their entirety got no further. With the fall of these empires the people of that once enlightened world sank into darkness and scattered to the four winds, some to the east, some to the west, some to the north, and some to the south.

The eastern and western migrations have left most to history, as is evidenced by the Asiatics, Europeans and Americans. But as the civilization of the East is oldest, its history is more obscure than the history of the West, and we know but little of the accomplishments of the Mongolian race. However, Western civilization has touched the East from the other side of

the earth and is reviving the Eastern peoples, who are making a new history.

On the Island of Japan eastern and western civilizations have met and are making of the Asiatics a great people. Japan has come to the front to stand with the powers of the world in the short space of but half a century. She has thrown off Absolutism and has passed into Republicanism and Empire within this period. She has followed the example of the United States, though the transition was much more rapid. If, then, all the nations are grasping for power in the commercial race of this colonial struggle, is not really commerce and colonization the force of nature that is interlacing the nations and making all the peoples kin?

EDUCATION.

IF civilization is the monument of social liberty, and education the foundation of civilization, then the phrase "Republic of Letters," which has long been a familiar one, is not used in vain. It recognizes no local nor national boundaries; it expresses the community of thought and feeling which exists between all educated men. Has there not come to be, or is there not coming to be, by ethical advancement a similar conviction among the leading nations of the world as to the standards of national duty?

Grotius said that there was no room for discourse and final arbitration between kings and peoples, because there was no superior power above both to cre-

ate or dissolve an obligation under the existing conditions, and this opinion showed that he had confidence in the enlightenment of the people of his time to rightly adjudicate international disputes in an unbiased way; but there was still no force that could put the judgment of the intelligence of the world into effect, for there was no public opinion. There was no such force in his day, owing to the lack of enlightenment of the peoples, but he has helped to make such a force possible in our day. His discourse, discussions and propositions have not only led to something like a systematic code of international law, but to a certain consensus as to the international morals.

Square dealing is now recognized as the best mode of diplomatic negotiations. No Machiavelli, no Talleyrand would now be tolerated at the head of any department of foreign affairs. The greater participation of the people in the government, the publicity given to national policies, parliamentary debates, interchange of ideas by the press and cable have changed the face of international politics. Steam and electricity are the force of the age; without these developments of friction our enlightenment would soon fade away and the world would fall back into the dark ages of dismemberment, misunderstanding and conflict. This force is unifying mankind. As we read the morning newspaper we feel the pulse of the world, and it is one and the same. The spirit of unity is felt everywhere.

America has been the pioneer in these inventions and

discoveries in their successful application, and the fosterer of many just and equitable rules, internally and internationally, which these new ideas have brought about.

Arbitration has made its step into this world by reason of these forces, and the international court was made a possibility by their power. Hitherto arbitration was brought about by the appointment of arbiters for specific cases, but the facilities of communication and transportation have made it possible for a permanent court to sit in judgment over international controversies. Over a hundred disputes between nations have been adjusted during the nineteenth century, each of which otherwise might have been an occasion for war, and the United States has been a party to so many of these hearings that it is in a position to judge with some degree of assurance as to their merits and defects. Both are great.

The importance of a permanent court cannot be over-estimated, for no arbitration agreement made by judges chosen after a particular matter of dispute has arisen can be drawn quite as unreservedly in the interests of justice as one made before. In the selection of arbiters each party is certain to favor those whom it may think most likely to conform to his own views, and in the choice of the place for the hearing there is some thought of the state of the public sentiment in the circles among which the arbiters may be thrown. On the other hand, the best men to decide the question of the controversy would not be the pri-

mary consideration of the powers, but the question of how they would decide it would be of primary importance, and the place would be selected where it was most favorable to the most influential power, thus there being immediately the difficulty of drawing controversies for settlement into biased hands.

A permanent court at a fixed place or places has these obvious advantages over any temporary board of arbitration constituted for a single cause sitting at various places. This is likewise true in the selection of an international parliamentary body which is to enact and perfect the international law or an international executive which is to execute the decree of the court.

The tendency is toward concentration and definiteness in the establishment of this International Governmental System, and the development of international political bodies has probably more to do with the establishment of international government than any one thing. The International Peace Society, the Parliamentary Union, the International Socialistic Party, the International Young Men's Christian Association and the various other congresses are bringing about these diversified international organizations. The International Language, international commercial, industrial, musical and art societies, all have the tendency towards moulding the peoples into one whole, making them feel their unity and solidarity and sectional differences are being obliterated by the higher ideals of these organizations.

It is true that the pioneer of thought rarely received the credit for his high purpose and courage until his aims have been accomplished and he has passed away. So it is with newly created organizations; they do their work and pass out of existence, although their principles are accepted as fundamentally correct when some other and later organization has usurped their policies and received the credit.

Many a modern hero has but to receive ridicule and the name of a fanatic; but these fanatics are the people who think and have the courage of their convictions. Demosthenes, Cicero and Bryan have been known as the apostles of fanaticism. Huss, Wycliff and Jerome had the same name. Washington, Jefferson and Franklin were regarded as cranks by thousands of peoples. But they are all known as great men by the millions of to-day.

A smile came over the countenance of the rulers of the world when the Hague Conference met, and its success was a surprise to every one, for its victory was equal to the conquest of the world. But little did the Czar of Russia dream that he was undermining his own system of tyranny by launching such a movement; but little did this benevolent autocrat know that it was not by reason of his own volition that he called together the Peace Conference for the purpose of disarmament. However, it was not the Czar of Russia, who is a good and kind-hearted man in a most difficult position, that was acting, but it was the Slavic Race that influenced the action of the Czar through the

Czarina, who was moved by the example of the patience in the suffering of the Slav people. The success of the conference was overwhelmingly great; it established the first and most important function of International Government, for the tribunal of justice forms the first branch of international government in the United Nations of the World.

Arbitration was no new thing, as it has been going on for time almost immemorial, by treaties and compacts of various kinds; but a permanent Court of Arbitration was an innovation, as it is perpetual, and preceding the disputes it tends to prevent the occasion of any serious controversy. The knowledge of each nation that a court is in existence, and has jurisdiction to settle disputes if they are not settled by diplomacy, makes it a strong incentive for a voluntary adjustment. In the absence of a court there would always be a right to reject any offer of arbitration, and it would be a right often exercised, particularly by the party which is strongest and in the wrong. Even where there were treaties providing for the reference of any controversies that might arise to arbiters, to be chosen for that purpose, it would be a far less manifest breach of duty to refuse to join in selecting arbiters, or to postpone action in that direction until it would become too late to avoid a conflict of arms, than it would be to refuse to respect the summons of a tribunal already constituted for the disposition of such cases.

Treaty alliances have not the force of a court. There

was a treaty between Denmark and Prussia in 1863 which provided for the settlement by arbitration of such disputes as might arise between these two powers. One did arise with relation to the Schleswig-Holstein succession, and Prussia found war to her purpose more than arbitration. War followed, and the weaker power lost everything at stake. Permanent judges have also a position entitling their decisions to far more respect than that likely to be accorded to any temporary arbiters, as was pointed out. There is also a certain uniformity in their mode of procedure and certain consistency in their application of legal principles. They are driven by the strongest motives of ambition as well as of duty to give the closest study and attention to whatever comes before them and set forth the reasons for their judgments in a way to carry conviction at least to unprejudiced minds.

They must thus gradually develop for themselves a true system of international jurisprudence, each rule of which does rest upon the approval of civilized nations; for without that no rule they frame can have any endurance as precedent. The object of organizing an international court with jurisdiction over differences between the powers of the world received the countenance of Leibnitz, Kant, Lamartine and Bentham; and they pointed out that no general revolution in the methods of settling international disputes could ever be accomplished except by a process of evolution. One step at a time is the only way to climb the stairs to the altar of the Golden Gate.

Mankind advances but step by step, slowly and irresistibly, for the only successful accomplishments are those made at the opportune time and under favorable conditions. And to-day the welfare of the race is becoming too deeply concerned in an attempt to dispense with the substitution of judicial decision for military power; and to take no risk of the uncertainty of the law a permanent International Parliament is becoming an indispensable necessity. That the judiciary will find its workings for justice hampered, by unfixed and unrecognized rules and laws is certain to bring about an international parliament to formulate and codify international law. The movement is opportune, and in the face of the future alliances and compacts, it is inevitable in the early to-morrow. In England and America the private law is about the same, and is based upon common law.

On the continent of Europe there is a great similarity in the codes, as they are all founded upon the codes of Napoleon and Justinian. What, then, should hinder the peoples in coming closer and closer together along intellectual lines? If nations can colonize and bring closer together barbarian and semi-civilized peoples, why cannot the civilized nations come together upon the common camping grounds of political peace, by reason of their culture, refinement and enlightenment?

THE STATE.

II.

NATURE AND PURPOSE

WHAT is progress and civilization gauged by but the size, prosperity and enlightenment of the family and of the state? Civilization, then, of itself spreads the sphere of unity and solidarity over a broader and broader area until it embraces all the peoples into one form of society. It is an evolutionary movement, as natural as the growth of animate matter, and has its periods of rapid growth according to conditions of time and environment, for the tie between the peoples is ever growing closer. Although there may be sectional differences that cause temporary dismemberment, these ties accelerate proportionately as there is a community of interest or common danger, and states have risen and fallen and likewise empires have risen and fallen; rising when the common interest or danger are manifest, and declining when they cease to exist.

As the individual surrenders so much of his natural liberty to the government, society surrenders its liberty only in so far as is necessary for the governing of a community, and the community surrenders so much freedom as is necessary for a national government, why, then, cannot a nation surrender only so much as

is necessary for the international government to combine our common interest against our common enemy, "War"? In fact, all these surrenders are for the good of the individual, for the individual is still alone sovereign, if force is the ultimate arbiter of all things, as he is the unit of strength.

An individual may surrender himself to the laws of the place in which he lives, but he does not thereby surrender his sovereignty. He may surrender his individuality, but he is still sovereign, for if he does not like the condition of society in the place where he resides he may endeavor to improve it or go to the place where it is more to his liking, and the right of collections of individuals to sever their relations with a body politic is as fundamental as is the right for collective bodies to form a combination.

Of course, the subject of territoriality enters into this right and is very intricate. Has a section of a state a right to put up an independent government? is a question that has been answered by the force of arms in both ways. In the short space of a century this question has been answered both ways on the American continent, in the affirmative by the Revolution and in the negative by the Rebellion.

This same question is bound to come up again and again, and the more frequently it is answered in the negative the closer and closer will the sections of this globe come together; for, as I have pointed out, the breaking-up of a state only comes about by unreasonable and unnatural ties, and in these instances a decision

in the affirmative—that is, to dissolve—really fosters closer and closer ties between the people, because sections forced into union means dissension, while if there is a division and natural ties are still drawing, the separated divisions will finally come together and a reunion is assured. The Roman law was the first to hold that the original source of all political power was in the people, yet it was held to be an alienation and not a revocable delegation of power. “*Quid quid principi placuit legis habet vigorem.*” The inalienable right of the people, however, had been usurped by the Pope during his temporal power, but the Catholic Church stood over the peoples of the earth and preserved the institutions of the Roman Republic while the two great political forces were at stake, threatening to destroy each other—absolutism and anarchism. The system of government in the Roman Empire was giving way to the individualistic anarchistic system which the barbarian was infusing into the dominions of the socialized empire, while the Church stood as the arbiter of these two forces, evaded the crises and made possible the modern state. The Roman Catholic Church saved the world from eternal darkness, and, as in all crucial times, by the divine Providence, a strong hand is seen to rise above the cloud of smoke to quell the seething flames of the destructive fires.

Absolute monarchies were built upon the fusion of these principles to save the world from feudalism, and again and again the peoples asserted their right to local self-government; but again and again they were

crushed, until the assumption of the European revolution—"the thirty years' war"—when the cloud of smoke and devastation again rose from the earth's surface. Constitutions were gained and republics were formed; for the general will, public opinion and popular clamor are the only means by which popular sovereignty obtains its expression within a state.

DEMOCRACY—REPUBLIC—EMPIRE.

THE aim of this subject is to establish the construction of a true system of political evolution as is established by the ultimate nature of the body politic, showing the development of democracy, republic and empire to be coincident with the progress of society from individualism to liberalism and to socialism, and the grounds upon which this assumption may be justified as the progressive stages to universal empire.

Beyond all previous periods the present century has been prolific in the creation of new and complex political conditions. With the appearance of the modern political state, with its function and organization reduced to definite written statements; with the formation of the greatest variety of the federal unions with states formerly independent; with the rise of international relations into political definiteness; with the clear distinction between public and private rights, between moral and civic obligations—with all these phases of political life the one eternal problem of universal empire has arisen.

It is therefore with the greatest diffidence that this part of the treatise is offered, not as an attempt to foretell or prophesy, but to point out the apparent trend of civilization in the Art of Government.

A social body consists of a group of individuals with mutual and economic interests. A body politic is a social body with an organization. This organization is the government. When this society becomes organized to effect political interests a state is said to exist.

The elements essential to a state may be said to be:

1. A community of people socially united.
2. A political machinery (government).
3. A body of rules governing the scope of the public authority.

The term state is, strictly speaking, an abstract term, while government is emphatically concrete, and a nation is said to be an aggregate of people of the same race, speaking a common language, of the same faith and under the same government. In the light of modern enlightenment this definition will not hold true, and the most loose definition will only fit the existence of many modern nations. However, peoples by these fundamental ligaments are by nature bound into a nation. Each one of these factors invites the formation of a nation, though no one of them is strong enough to compel it. In fact, a nation is a body politic, composed of people welded together by some natural and strong ties.

After all, the power of nature is seen working every-

where, and is counteracting the forces that work against the solidarity of the peoples, for the tendency of the peoples toward social intercourse has developed them into a political union. The exchange of ideas and goods is based upon human want, and human want is based upon human selfishness or self-interest. Have not, then, republics and empires been built up and destroyed by the same force of self-interest or selfishness, and does not this force work both ways, depending upon development of society; for who knows how many civilizations have swept around the world like wildfire, only leaving behind their ashes? The present civilization is said to have begun ten thousand years ago, and its meagre condition for five thousand years leaves us to look back into it but for about five thousand years. We are told that five thousand years ago there flourished an empire universal in dominion, with a people who far surpassed the civilization of to-day. We are told that the little democracy of Greece began a confederation of states that were bound together first by consent and then by conquest, and built up an empire over the known world. We are told that Greece was the purest democracy in the history of the world, and that this very fact was her doom. Is this true? Had the distant lands of the Grecian Empire been governed with the modern facilities of communication, I can see no reason why the Empire would not live to-day, for individualism was the only disease that lurked in the colonial govern-

ment, which grew in proportion to the lack of communication and association.

A democratic system of government is the most individualistic and yet the most practical under modern facilities of communication, because only by a representative can a number of people act as a unit, and while the Catholic Church saved the Roman system of government and the Teuton system from destroying one another, it remained for the Reformation to save the world from absolute despotism and universalism, which was the drift of the Church; and the Glunites blew the first trumpet of modern liberty. The theory of the exclusive divinity of the priesthood has fallen, as is falling the theory of the exclusive divinity of the Pope. The sovereignty of the kings was upheld by the doctrine of the exclusive divinity of the kings; but the theory of exclusive divinity is fading away in the conception of the sovereignty of the people, for they alone are divine.

Hence the modern conception of government is based upon the consent of the governed. 'The ruler is the servant of the people, and the government is "of the people, by the people and for the people." The old theory of divinity gave the power of legislation, adjudication and execution to one man; the modern theory gives it to the many. The true origin of popular sovereignty, popular government in the state and the nation, can be readily seen to have been a natural evolution of the feelings of an aggregate of peoples toward another that prompts association and unification.

A common interest may become such by reason of a common danger, and, centering a group of beings closer and closer together, the process of accretion goes on until those of the common danger grow strong enough to have a common cause, and, instead of remaining on the defensive, they begin to take the offensive step.

At this point of development empires grow up, and, as their power begins to be dreaded as the avalanche, other small groups begin to amalgamate for common protection; but, by reason of their being segregated groups, they are compelled to form loose ties, which give them the "balance of power" to over-awe the power of the greater aggregations by being able to throw their force on either side. The rise of the states after the fall of the Roman Empire was brought about by such readjusting, and the balancing of power by this process is still going on to-day.

As soon as a power rises that threatens to be a menace to the independence of the modern states the minor powers ally themselves against this would-be monster and equalize the danger, and as these alliances form and re-form themselves they are ever adjusting themselves according to the ever-present influences of race, religion and language. Thus were formed the modern and ancient Democracies, Republics and Empires. This process of reconstruction and readjustment is ever going on, and will ever go on as long as we find but a semblance of difference among the peoples of the world.

However, we can readily see and understand that as peoples become more and more identified, absorbed and solidified, this process of reconstruction will become slower and slower until it will almost cease. The stronger the bonds of unity in a nation, the stronger the nation, and this will likewise be the case in the world government.

IMPRACTICABILITY OF WAR.

INTERNATIONAL war has no future. Every change in conditions or dispositions is affirmed and fixed only after a struggle of armaments. However, after an analysis of the history of mankind since the year 1496 B.C. to the year 1906 of our era—that is, in a cycle of 3,402 years—there were only 257 years of universal peace and 3,145 years during which the peoples were in a state of war. The war years were not years of universal war, but local war, of whatever sort, and we can say that, according to area and space of time, the world was preponderingly in the state of peace. Even considering it thus, the history of the life of the peoples presents a picture of uninterrupted struggle. The status of war, it would appear, is a normal condition of human life, even though there is no actual warfare during the status of this armed peace.

But the position has changed and still the new continues to contend with the remnants of the old, which is ever changing and being superseded by the modern order of things. Sieys compared the old order of

things with a pyramid standing upon its apex, declaring that it must be given a more natural position and placed upon its base. This demand has been fulfilled by the success of the new order; the edifice of state has been placed upon foundations incomparably wider than before, affirmed on the rights and will of millions of people—the so-called middle order of society.

It is natural that the greater the number of voices influencing the cause of affairs, the more complex is the sum of interests to be considered. The economic revolution caused by the application of steam has been a cause of entirely new and unexpected conditions between the different countries of the world and the different classes inhabiting them, encircling and strengthening some, impoverishing and weakening others, in the same measure as the new conditions permitted to each participation in the new distribution of revenues, capital and influence. With the innumerable voices which are bound up in our own public opinion, and the many different representatives of its interests, naturally appear very different views on militarism and its object—war, if perchance it be a strong preventive. The propertied class, in particular those whose importance and condition was established during the former distribution of wealth and power by the former military method of acquisition, precisely those classes whom we call Conservatives, are inclined to confuse even the intellectual movement against militarism with aspirations for the subversion of social order, which they can never tolerate. They attribute too great an

importance upon militarism as a force to retain the *statu quo*, while no sufficient attention is turned to the dangers in the fermentation of minds awakened by the present and growing burdens of armaments and militarism.

On the other hand, agitators seeking influence on the minds of the masses, having deduced from the new conditions, with recklessness and even intentional misrepresentation, the most extreme conclusions, deny all existing rights, and promise to the masses more than the most perfect institutions could give them.

In striving to arouse the masses against militarism, such agitators unceremoniously ascribe to every thinker who does not share their views selfish impulses, although in reality he may be following sincere convictions.

And although the masses are slow to surrender themselves to abstract reasoning, and act usually only under the influence of passion and disorder, there can be no doubt that the propaganda ceaselessly carried out in parliaments, on platforms and in the press penetrates more and more deeply the people and awakens in them those feelings which, in the midst of the disasters called forth by war, might easily lead them to action.

The evil "militarism" serves to-day as the chief instrument of the activity of agitators, and is a tangible object for attack, while in reality those agitators strive not only for the suppression of militarism, but for the destruction of the whole social order.

With such a position of affairs—that is, on the one hand the ruinous competition in constantly increasing armaments, and on the other the social danger for all which grows under a general burden—it is necessary that influential and educated men should seriously consider and gain for themselves a clear account of the effects of war under modern conditions, whether it will be possible to realize the aims of war, and whether the extermination of millions of wealth and thousands of men will be wholly without result.

Civilization increases the value of the life of every citizen, and, although modern and future warfare may not be so destructive to life as in the past, we may ask: will society tolerate the destruction of its wealth in the face of poverty and suffering to humanity? The social grievance is being minimized, but the economic grievance is accelerating.

Think of the result of an international war between the five great powers, with ten millions of soldiers and billions of wealth in its fortifications, navies and armaments! Such a war would settle the future of war itself and bring about a period of prolonged peace. It would bankrupt the world and would create such a moral uprising as has never been heard of. So, war is becoming more and more impracticable, and its combined impracticability, by reason of increased and equalized efficiency of modern armaments, is making it an impracticable possibility.

The implements of war are growing more rapidly than the productiveness of nations, and armaments are

beginning more and more to swallow the income of the people.

Meanwhile, the relations of the nations are becoming closer and closer, their independence more plain and their dependence more manifest as their solidarity is becoming recognized.

The development of armaments and explosive is becoming so deadly that war in the future is impracticable and impossible. The loss of life is becoming smaller and smaller, but even in the face of the fact that the future battles are to be fought on the high seas and between million-dollar machines of warfare which will require fewer men to manage these labor-saving instruments of destruction, yet a general international war would prove very destructive to life. Modern warfare is going back to the principle of feudal warfare, when the war lord was represented by his mailed knight, on whom money was lavished in appurtenances and in developing his skill, so as to make certain the determination of disputes. Our battleships are our modern knights. Here again history is repeating itself. Yet it will slowly become uneconomic to build this machinery of warfare, although it is at present a protection to commerce, and no commercial nation can do without it.

The powers of to-day might arise and disarm, but the powers of to-morrow might assert themselves and prevail, to rule over them, as is evidenced by the sudden accession of strength in the Japanese; for the sphere of civilization is not yet fully expanded and

well defined, or at its greatest breadth, and the powers cannot safely disarm without the building of a wall.

The wall of China withstood the warlike hordes of the West for centuries, but it is practically of no consequence to-day. How, then, can modern civilization uphold the lax bonds of a disarmed peace, maintain it, and yet protect itself? There is need of some central force of coherence by which it can protect itself from internal and external uprisings. There is need of an International Guard of the people, of an organized international government.

As long as peoples will be governed by the harsh law of the survival of the fittest there will be struggle and warfare; but, as I have stated, there is such a thing as the absence of international war, and international peace can come about only after international wars have ravaged the world, for the two are well related and follow each other. "After war, peace." A salutary and extended international peace ensued after the Thirty Years' War, which was a European or universal war.

Jules Simon, of the Paris Senate, writes: "It is horrible to think that one is journeying every day toward the universal war which will be the cataclysm of history, and no one wishes it."

The same year a memorial was drawn up by a conference of free churches in England. It stated: "The ruinous rivalry of armaments is the inevitable, although the deplorable, result of the absence of any international understanding. It can be arrested only

by an international agreement or an international war." Yet the war budget is growing every year, and the people are clamoring against all this waste and immensely destructive effort.

Later, a British Prime Minister suggested to Czar Alexander III. that he call a conference to consider the reduction of armaments. In 1894 Alexander died and the project was dropped. In 1896 the International Conference of Peace met at Peste. The Marquis of Salisbury, speaking at the Mansion House, said: "The one hope that we have to prevent this competition from ending in a terrible effort at mutual self-destruction which will be fatal to Christian civilization—the one hope that we have is that the powers may be gradually brought together in a friendly spirit on all subjects of difference that may arise until at least they shall be welded together in some international constitution which shall give to the world, as a result of their great strength, a long spell of unfettered commerce, prosperous trade and continued peace." The Czar's rescript followed on August 24, 1898.

Centuries before, statesmen had been looking to some system for the preservation of peace. But the Czar of Russia was the only ruler that dared propose an international congress for the purpose of disarmament, for the moment was opportune, and it was destined that the Slavic race should have the honor of being sponsors for this, the greatest of movements.

The Great Roman Peace was in the minds of Richelieu, Wolsey, and Napoleon, who attempted to estab-

lish it by force of arms. It was also in the minds of Paine, Rousseau and Voltaire, who attempted to establish it by force of argument. They all failed because the time was not opportune. The power of sword and pen is equally indispensable to the realization of universal peace, and the time is now opportune, for the moment for action has arrived.

ECONOMICS.

ECONOMIC evolution is ever tending to broaden spheres of activity, and is conducive to a unification of industrial enterprise and the solidification of political entities over broader areas. A highly developed exchange in the securities between nations, or international exchange of corporate stock, is in itself a strong bond between nations, through community of economic interests. It causes still another demand for peace, and is another argument against war. Financial considerations are beginning to play the most decisive part in the extermination of war, for no two countries would be apt to engage in conflict when the interests of each are utterly against war.

Strict neutrality does not, however, prevent the loaning to belligerents of financial aid, and war has often proven to be a wonderful field of exploitation for financiers. This practice will soon be prohibited, as the interests of trade are more and more dominant. Such an apparently slight cause as the fall of prices is beginning to affect the whole world as it is becoming

more peopled and united, for the importance of trade is becoming greater and greater and demands a free and unobstructed course.

Success in the future will depend upon the soundness and simplicity of economic conditions. It is likewise dependent upon geographical environment and geodetic possibilities. Not only the surface of the earth, but its interior, and the surrounding atmosphere and climate as well, determine man's destiny. Likewise, governments are established upon the earth, and their course and destiny is a product of the environing agents; and the earth, being an infinitesimal part of the universe, is itself but a product of its environment. It is an organism; it has its course in space, its seasons, its forces of attraction and resistance; it has its own life to live and its destiny.

The earth, then, is a simple organism composed of animal and vegetable, or organic matter, and mineral, or inorganic matter. The animal matter lives on vegetable life, and the vegetable world springs from the mineral world; and so the circular course of existence and life is perpetuated. By the law of indestructibility of matter those same substances entered into the composition of the vegetable and animal world, as well as the mineral, and we cannot get away from the planet, for everything is of the earth, earthy. All life, then, is indeed but the product of its environment.

Even so with nations. Their success, character and destiny can be determined only by what is above, on and under the surface of the earth, and geographical

environment determines the course, the growth and decay of a nation.

Let me instance the United States as materially illustrating my argument. Its wealth has put it in a high rank among nations. In a little more than a hundred, or, at most, two hundred, years of wealth-gathering we have piled up \$110,000,000,000. These stupendous figures are beyond mental grasp. When the Indian wants to tell his tribesmen, upon his return from New York, that he saw vast numbers of men, he says they were as numerous as the leaves on the trees or the grasses in the fields. The savage realizes number and quantity in his peculiarly picturesque way. When I speak to mathematicians of \$100,000,000,000 they form but an indefinite picture of this sum. To aid in the realization of such a vast sum of wealth, it may be said that Great Britain, after two thousand years, a country which has been piling up wealth since its mines sold tin to the Phœnicians, and Cæsar's legions encamped in its numerous castra or chesters, has accumulated only \$55,000,000,000, or half the wealth of the United States. France, La Belle France, her vineyards, olive orchards, rose gardens—the sunny land of Roland and Bayard, the land in which thrift is the law and waste a legend—has amassed only \$50,000,000,000. Germany, including Alsace and Lorraine, an empire whose industrial and commercial history, at least in the last hundred years, reads like a romance, has gathered only \$48,000,000,000. Russia, an empire whose scepter sways over one-sixth of the world, a land with a thou-

sand years of recorded history, commands only \$35,000,000,000. Austria-Hungary, the great dual empire, including Bohemia, the Bohemia of song and story, owns but \$30,000,000,000. Italy, imperial Italy, the land of the Romans and the Renaissance, has only \$18,000,000,000. Spain, poor Spain, after the billions taken from the mines of Mexico and Peru, owns her \$12,000,000,000.

To put all this in another form, this land in which we live—*God's country*, as the exiled consuls, ambassadors and ministers call it—possesses but a small part of the world's area, in rough figures, one-fourteenth, and of its population, one-twentieth. Yet it produces 20 per cent. of the world's wheat, 30 per cent. of its gold, 32 per cent. of its coal, 33 per cent. of its silver, 34 per cent. of its manufactured products, 35 per cent. of its iron, 36 per cent. of its cattle, 38 per cent. of its steel, 50 per cent. of its petroleum, 54 per cent. of its copper, 75 per cent. of its cotton, 84 per cent. of its corn.

In 1904 it produced 13,000,000,000 pound bales of cotton, 27,000,000,000 bushels of corn and more than 775,000,000 bushels of wheat.

We have 20 per cent. of the world's money inside our gates, 25 per cent. of its coin and bullion, 67 per cent. of its banking power, or \$14,000,000,000, 33 1-3 per cent. of its savings bank deposits, 42 per cent. of its railroads, and more than half of its thirty best harbors. The foreign trade of the world is about \$22,000,000,000 per twelve months; the internal trade of the

United States is \$22,000,000,000. Is comment necessary?

Europe has 12,000 square miles of coal lands, much of it nearing exhaustion—so much so that Great Britain, in alarm, has created two commissions latterly to examine the situation. Twenty years ago Jevons stated that the mines, at the rate of consumption then going on, would be exhausted in from 150 to 200 years. Again alarmed, England had Wallace report on the situation. He declared that if the mines were run far under the sea they would last another hundred years, or from 250 to 350 years. Three hundred years is not a long period in the history of a nation. It is only three hundred years since the age of Elizabeth, and yet to history students, at least to men familiar with the dynasties of Egyptian and Assyrian kings, it is modern, very modern.

In the bowels of *our* earth is coal enough, at the present rate of consumption, or 300,000,000 tons a year, to last six thousand years. The only countries that can possibly compare with us are China and Russia. According to Richupfen, the great German geographer and geologist, the Celestial Empire—and he explored only a part—has, to his knowledge, 225,000 square miles of coal.

Siberia alone contains one-ninth of the world's area. Great Britain and all of Europe, except Russia, together with the whole of the United States, could be put into Siberia, and, as its mineral deposits are inestimable, at its present rapid rate of settlement it

is destined to become the future mineral and grain market of the world.

Mr. Atkinson, of Boston, boasted in 1890 that 1900 would see the world producing 40,000,000 tons of iron. It did produce 40,018,000 tons. In 1900 he said that 1916, or possibly 1910, would see a 60,000,000-ton iron output. It promises realization by that time. The history of our iron and steel industry reads like a romance; it is romance, for the story of Peter White is the story of our iron industry. The work in the Gogebic, Vermillion and Mesaba ranges in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota rivals the romances of *Dumas* and *Scott*. Iron ore is found in these mines in an oxidized form, is scooped up by great automatic shovels, poured into 30 or 40 ton steel wagons, and carried often by gravitation to Duluth, Two Harbors or Marquette, on Lake Superior, when it is then dumped into huge 10,000 or 12,000 ton steamers, filling one of these leviathans in as many hours, now, as it formerly took days to fill boats, the largest of which was 2,000 tons. By these boats the iron ore is carried across the lakes to Buffalo, Toledo, Cleveland and Chicago, on Lake Erie and Lake Michigan, and is dumped into huge furnaces. Most of the work, if not quite all, is done by automatic machinery. There it is converted into steel billets, rails, or the ten thousand things for which it serves, among which are principally the implements of human destruction. With all these things we have gone into the earth to bless man with implements of construction and implements of destruction. The figures given

above were for 1900. Since that time a great change has come over the iron world. In 1905 we produced 22,300,000 tons of the world's total, 52,000,000, beating England and Germany by 2,600,000 tons. In 1893 we had 39 per cent. of the world's total, 46,368,000 tons. In 1863 we produced only 831,770, to Great Britain's 4,825,254 and Germany's 759,900, and the world's total, 9,250,000 tons. For five years we have been producing as much as both. This, with coal, has given us the mastery of the world's markets. They have put us at the head of the procession of the so-called Anglo-Saxon civilization. It is weighing us down with great and grave responsibilities; it is inaugurating an era in which this country is to sit at the head of the table in the world's great council chambers. The only blur in it all is the limit of the supply. The world's estimated iron deposits amount to only 10,000,000,000 tons. Luckily, there are lands still unexplored. In these may be many billions more. Of the 10,000,000,000 tons known, the United States is said to have 1,100,000,000; Germany, 2,000,000,000; Great Britain, 1,000,000,000 tons. The remainder of 6,000,000,000 tons is, for the most part, found in Scandinavia, Spain, Russia, Canada and the various countries of Asia and the islands of the sea.

In the production of steel the record is romantic, we may say. In 1900 we produced 10,188,000 tons of steel; the United Kingdom, 4,901,000; Germany, 6,362,000 tons. In 1903 our production reached 14,517,763 tons, or 40.5 per cent. of the world's total of

35,846,000 tons. During that year Germany, keeping pace with modern movement in far better form than England, produced 8,801,515 tons and Great Britain 5,134,101, both together producing far less than the United States, and the discrepancy has continued to grow in the years 1904 and 1905. It is probable that the steel production of the United States is rapidly moving toward 20,000,000 tons. Indeed, the thoughtful and observing student will have noted the marvelous rapidity with which we have risen from a place behind Germany and England to the foremost rank in iron and steel production.

As late as 1883, Great Britain produced 8,490,224 tons of iron and 2,158,880 tons of steel; Germany, 3,397,588 tons of iron and 1,066,920 of steel, against 4,595,510 and 1,673,534 tons, respectively, for the United States. Still further back, both countries surpassed us in the two products. In all this, one begins to realize the meaning and value of these minerals, coal and iron: they are the real royal metals, or, in other words, they are the real sources of power. It is to these that Great Britain owes her pre-eminent position. They gave her the world, and are now giving the world to the United States. Behind Gibraltar, the Suez, the islands of the Mediterranean, India, Australia, Canada, and the mighty places of the world upon which her guns have been erected, are the coal and iron mines of England, Scotland and Wales. Behind the United States' success at home and abroad are the coal and iron mines of our country, which are

forces and factors that make every possibility a marvelous opportunity of manifest destiny.

The meaning of this vast wealth, both at hand and in reserve, is evident. It creates new and vast responsibilities. While it gives us power, it gives responsibilities. To be true to them all, to live up to the past, and to be as virtuous as our fathers, we shall have to work ceaselessly in the cause of Peace, so that our resources may be used for the upbuilding of the nation and not the destruction of its glorious opportunity.

UNIVERSAL EMPIRE.

III.

THE WORLD STATE.

SINCE the fall of the Roman Empire as the last world state civilization has been gathering itself together in various parts of the European continent, where successive but unsuccessful attempts were made to establish a unified state. For centuries the Church took the rôle of mediator and dictator among the increasingly powerful monarchs in whom were centered the economic forces of the time.

Otto the Great was the first ruler to conceive the possibility of a reunified empire. Then followed the house of the Capets, and subsequently the Philips, enthroning successively the Teutons, the Franks and the Spaniards. Under Catholic guardianship Spain developed the greatest Empire the world has ever known, even though it was a very loose one. She claimed the whole of America, but her weakness and decline soon lost her all she had. Little England has taken the place of Spain, and America is already taking the place of the British Empire. The United States of America justifies the United States of Europe, and the union of these united states justifies the United Nations of the World.

The United Nations of America is no preconceived idea, as the Monroe Doctrine has years ago bound North and South America together by a frail ligament. The Pan-American Congress held at Washington in 1895 formulated a project for a general treaty of arbitration between all republics upon the western continent. Its first article declares that arbitration is the principle of American international law, while the Monroe Doctrine declares that "America is for the Americans."

Once it seemed as though Spain would dominate the world, but now lies she there, and none so poor to do her reverence. Through her initiative and energy, Columbus discovered this continent, and the Pope gave the new world to the grateful Isabella, who pledged her jewels to the faith of the poor Genoese sailor, thus creating the greatest empire in all history. Spain has stumbled and fallen; little Holland had threatened to supersede her power by the great wealth which her ships gathered upon the high seas. Then France took the dominant position on the continent of Europe, under the leadership of Napoleon, and threatened to put all the people under the rule of the sword. To-day Germany is acquiring the dominant position in European affairs, for she is spreading her influence everywhere. We thus see that the center of power has swept back and forth over the continent, ever accelerating in velocity and magnitude, while economic forces are changing the face of the map by eradicating national lines.

All Europe is interested in the liquidation of the debt of the Ottoman Empire, and the six ministers of foreign affairs are gradually becoming a European Cabinet by learning the habit of working together under the pressure of daily events, and are thus bringing about a united Europe, as a result of mutual fear and distrust rather than brotherly love and neighborly confidence. This is an instance which proves that mutual dread, as well as mutual affection, cements nations, and that the evil of war, to put it paradoxically, is the greatest promoter of peace. In other words, *that which may bring about the greatest evil is equally, at times, productive of the greatest good.*

The history of the development of every nation repeats the result of the process whereby a strong force has gradually crushed all rivals and established authority which is now recognized by consent involuntarily forced upon the people, and even though economic interest requires the *statu quo*, commerce can flourish under the assurance of a certain permanency in the condition of affairs.

Trade is the unifier of the race. Barriers have been swept away by the impetus of commercial progress, and as the oceans were once a formidable barrier to unification, they are to-day a strong economic bond. Commercially, coast cities are closer together than cities of the interior, and the oceans are thus rendering, by navigation, a means of common nationalization. There is yet infinitely more in store for the

future, for the air itself has yet to be conquered; and who knows the possibilities of aerial fleets, which are to be the means of transportation, as well as terrific engines of destruction?

The reforms of all the ages were primarily economic, although they may have outwardly been social or religious reforms, such as the Reformation of the Clunites, the Pragmites and the Lutherans. Sometimes these reforms are known as political, as in the American, the French and the Russian revolutions. These revolutions only come about when the middle class of the people is economically forced into the lowest class by the highly unequal distribution of wealth which divides the people into the rich and poor, and society of necessity falls back to a government of the many by the limited few. It develops a debtor and a creditor class, and finally the debtor becomes the economic slave of the creditor, with no chance of emancipation except by the force of arms.

Society has gone through this process time and time again, which goes to show that the status of society and of government is dependent upon economic forces. Probably there is nothing so conducive to the development of these extremes than the passage of class laws, which are but special privileges to the few, and supply the means for the transfer of wealth from one class to another. In democratic governments where the industrial inequality is growing we hear such theories as the tyranny of the majority, propounded by the preferred few, and the question is often raised whether

the supreme right of control is of right in the hands of the ignorant many, or logically and justly in the hands of the intelligent few. This is an argument against the justice of democracy, for the fundamental rule of democratic self-government is majority rule.

It is an argument against popular sovereignty and in favor of autocracy in its last analysis, for it raises the question whether popular sovereignty is the rule of ignorance. It is true that socialism sacrifices industrial freedom for political freedom, and thereby is confiscatory in its nature, but it works on the principle that economic democracy is political freedom crystallized. They say that majority rule is based upon the "right of might," and not upon the theory that "right is might." In truth, a purely individualistic form of government, if such can be conceived, is based upon the former, and a purely socialistic form upon the latter; but the liberal form of government upholds "might as right" as long as it is right, and "right as might" as long as it is right.

In a nation where liberty is at its zenith the middle class is always in its greatest power and splendor. It is not the rich class, or the poor class, neither the more ignorant nor the more intellectual class, but it is the middle class that is the power; yet when liberal ideals begin to dwindle away because of economic forces, the liberty of the people is at stake, and the nation is governed alternately by the terror of the ignorant class and the absolutism of the intelligent ranks. Intelligence always holds closer to the helm of the nation,

while ignorance stands at the rudder, ever threatening to run the ship of state into reefs if the intellectual body does not submit to certain reforms.

When a nation comes to this stage of development, democracy is fading away and the ship of state is ever in danger of foundering. The conservative element concede less and less, until the radical party in its frenzy brings about the reign of terror. This condition, which has been often repeated in the world's history, teaches that the only way political power can be made to further the well-being of a community or of a class is through the establishment and the maintenance of civil liberty throughout the world, based upon liberal compromise.

Experience, over and over again demonstrated that a high degree of material prosperity and happiness can be attained only through freedom of enterprise and universal organization, and that the highest type of personality can be developed only through intelligent liberty and industrial responsibility. It is likewise conceivable that industrial organization of society, like the political electorate, may become altogether democratic.

Co-operative associations may displace or be the outcome of the modern industrial corporation by their popularization; so we may feel assured of the realization of this modern economic conception as the real foundation of civil liberty, upon which can stand the monumental structure of the World State.

THE UNITED NATIONS OF AMERICA.

As I have already stated, the first article in the confederation of the American States is the Monroe Doctrine, and as the great American Republic has already achieved the highest position among the nations of the earth, it is destined to play the star part on the stage of diplomacy in future time. In but a century the United States have come to the front by leaps and bounds, from an agricultural to an industrial and now to a commercial nation.

The period of agriculture covered the time between the Revolution and the Rebellion. The industrial period reaches from the Rebellion to the Spanish-American War, and the commercial period from that war to the present time. All the necessary fundamentals for the building up of a strong nation have been gone through in but a century and a quarter, and with the remarkable strides that this nation has made in the past century, with its practically untouched and boundless resources, who can predict the future?

Babylon, Egypt, Greece and Rome, by virtue of their geographical advantages and favorable environment, became so pre-eminently superior to the surrounding nations that the smaller and weaker nations naturally fell at the feet of their great guardian for protection. The position of these states as world empires was helped by the forces of nature, which are more powerful than human design and ingenuity, and the incorporation into one nation of all the surround-

ing states assured the world's peace. It absolutely did away with interstate war and made less possible *intra-state* war. We have heard of the Great Babylonian Peace, the Great Egyptian Peace, the Great Grecian Peace and the Great Roman Peace, and these are the only instances in history of universal pacification. I believe that the establishment of the fifth great universal peace is in progress to-day, and to whom are the people of the world looking to as leader, but the United States?

Of necessity there is no such thing as perpetual peace. Roman Virgil says, "*Furor Impius intus fremit horridus ore cruento.*" We know that the Chinese have lived in a state of peace for centuries, and, in fact, they built the Great Chinese Wall to keep out the western spirit of war. But western civilization has swept around the world and has entered the great empire of peace from the eastern shores. Over the Pacific it breathed the spirit of war into the nostrils of fifty millions of Japanese, making them the dominant force in the Orient, and when the five hundred millions of Asiatics learn the western martial hymn the world will realize the meaning of the Yellow Peril. This peril is simply the development of a warlike race out of a peace-loving people. America has transmitted western civilization to the Japanese and the Japanese are teaching it to China, and who knows but that it may be better to let China sleep and dream her dream of opium contentment? We in America look forward to a Yellow Peril as do the Europeans to an American Peril,

for Europe is in fear that America will swamp the world's markets and become a second Venice.

Although in this age the fight is along commercial lines, none the less military force is behind the successful competitor, and in this final struggle for the survival of the fittest, conflicts are bound to arise. But as rapidly as treaties of arbitration and peace will be entered into (*pactum pacis*) which will contain anti-war clauses claiming precedence to the International Court at The Hague, these anti-war clauses will of themselves become loose ties which will grow into a pacific federation (*fædus pacificum*), in which it will be the aim to abolish war by putting an end to it and allowing the commercial struggle to go on undisturbed.

This federation will not be vested in a single power of a constituted state, but will simply secure the preservation and security of the freedom of a particular state and of others federated with it, until the federation will become universal—however, without any of them having to submit themselves to the public laws of another. The practicability of this idea of federation, which ought gradually to be extended to all states and thus lead to universal peace, is perfectly demonstrable.

If it should happen that a powerful and enlightened people should, as is likely with Russia, form an imperial republic, as is the present tendency, a form of government naturally tending to universal peace, this would form a nucleus tending to a federative union for other states to connect themselves with. Thus the

states would secure that condition of freedom which, through the adhesion of other peoples according to the idea of international right, might be extended more and more.

It is easy to see how a people may say to themselves, "We will have no war among ourselves, for we will form ourselves into one state, set ourselves up as a supreme law-giving government, with authority peacefully to dispose of our strifes." If it is easy to understand how a people may enter into such a compact, making one nation of lesser states, and a still larger federation of small nations, why, then, should it not be possible or reasonable for modern nations to form such an international federation?

The United States is the model for the government of the world, and I dare say for the United Nations of the World. The Supreme Court of the United States of America determines all controversies between or among sovereign states, and so prevents interstate war. The Congress enacts laws that govern these states only so far as these states have surrendered their right in the Constitution. The President executes the laws. Local self-government is the guarantee of the Constitution and the foundation of the Union, and at the basis of it all is the individual, who has an equal voice in the function of the government.

As the principle of self-government is spreading among the nations we hear of the Americanization of the world, and rulers point with dread toward American progress. But if we stop to consider that America

is but a composite of the best blood of Europe, and that it came to the West to do great things; that the democratic theory of government was itself expounded by Europeans, although it took American soil to foster and put this idea into practice, we may well call America "European America." The lesser powers of Europe heralded the German Peril as Germany spreads her power in all directions, and we see that there is not one peril, but a number of them; but still these "perils" or common dreads ally the lesser states against the impending danger. We have in Europe a balance of power reacting against German aggression; in the western world we have Europe allied against America, and in the world at large we have the Occident allied against the Orient. I do not hesitate to say that the development of Asia will cause the greatest peril of all, which will overshadow the lesser evils and join the West in a common alliance against the East, as a federation of all Christendom against heathenism.

During the closing years of the nineteenth century the center of political gravity has shifted with astounding rapidity and to great distances. This center of diplomatic power has crossed the Atlantic to America, as it has tripped to England from Holland across the English Channel, from Spain to Holland, from France to Spain, from Germany to France, from Rome to Germany, and to Rome across the Mediterranean from Greece. This center ever goes westward, and in circular form, is "an infinitely ascending spiral leading from man to God, from matter to spirit." Ever strug-

gling with the elements of resistance as civilization has moved step by step westward toward the north pole, it has marched on with an irresistible tread, gathering strength in its course, until the mighty power of centrifugal attraction is at last in North America. In the opening years of the twentieth century there have been evidences that this mighty force has crept across the great Pacific, where the future battles for peace are to be fought, and the United Nations of America will be an important factor in this contest for Universal Empire.

THE UNITED NATIONS OF EUROPE.

ALREADY I have stated that the United Nations of Europe must necessarily stand against the wonderful development and power of the United States of America. In one hundred years the American states have developed an empire thrice the size of the combined states of Europe. And the most significant fact of all, is, the rapid transition of the great American commonwealth from a democracy to a republic and then to an empire in but the course of little over a century.

The American Republic has been deeply interested in the establishment of a court of arbitration over the American continent, and took the leading part in the establishment of the International Court, thus becoming a dominant factor in European affairs. And I again say that the most significant fact of the nineteenth century is that democratic America had stepped out for empire and arbitration, while the despotic

power of Russia asserted its belief in disarmament and peace.

It is true that history only changes as rapidly as the forms of government do, and these curious facts are the cornerstones in the story of nations, during the close of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries.

Europe has been spending her money on her soldier, while America has been spending her money upon her scholar; but the converse is becoming true.

The rulers of the states of Europe are practically all bound by a common tie of blood, while the King and Queen of Denmark were regarded as the grandparents of Europe. They having passed away, and it is left to their children to be brotherly, and intermarriage among royalty is bound again and again to establish a common house with an international head.

The Diplomatic and Consular system is forming a closer union of the nations, while the Custom Union and tariff is an economic wall or boundary line separating nations quite as forcibly as the geographic dividing line; but it is being eradicated throughout the continents by the reduction of tariffs. The Postal Union has long ago effaced a radical difference in postage rates, and all these and other economic unions are tending to eradicate the boundary lines and make all peoples the citizens of the world.

A passport is no longer necessary, and a person may pass from nation to nation unstamped and unlabeled. Even diplomacy cannot divide nations where economic

forces join them, should it will to do so, but this amalgamation of the peoples and the nations shall go on towards the ideals of justice and peace.

Peace leagues and congresses, such as the Women's League of International Disarmament of Bavaria, the International Council of Women, the Peace Society of New York, the Peace Society of England, and other societies and peace congresses and conferences, all have a binding influence upon the nations.

The works of such writers as Jean de Bloch, Bertha von Sutner, Madame Movikoff and others establish this solidarity, and there is no object more worthy of the combined efforts of the womanhood of the world than the movement in arrest of the increasing growth and burden of armaments.

Jean de Bloch points out that the Railroads of the European continent are the arteries, the Telegraph and Telephone lines are the nerve centers of one body. This is certainly an age of speed in locomotion, for transportation is rapid through the world and news is flashed instantaneously to all parts of the globe; and we may say Electricity is the world's blood, for as one section of the globe develops more than the other it becomes either the blood center, heart, nerve center, or brain, of the world.

We see a steady approximation to unity throughout the globe, as we trace the development of the European continent into the European Concert by the common regulation of the great international waterways and railways; and we can trace the development

of a public sentiment of the peoples of the West against the peoples of the East.

Reduced to its essence, the question of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, or, in other words, the question of the near East, brought about the Concert of Powers formally established by the Treaty of Paris in 1856, which was asserted anew in the Berlin Treaty of 1878. Behind all the fine principles that are invoked in the diplomatic instruments governing the complex congress in its relation to the near East, the bedrock of the argument, the kernel, the central essence, is the control of the strategic channel of the Dardanelles and the international regulation of this waterway connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean Sea.

Because the Turk squats astride both sides of this strait, the Turk has been of great interest to Europe for more than a century, and in order to deal with a question of such international interest, which will have something to do in determining the question of the survival of the fittest, international action was necessary. The near eastern question brought about the Concert of Powers, and the Concert of Powers is that principle which, more than anything else, holds within it the promise and potency of every form of international development. It can be well called the embryo of a continental organism, which may shape itself into a government.

From a standpoint of internationality, Berne is today the capital of the continent; here are seated the

various international bureaus, such as the International Postal Union of 1874, the Telegraphic Union of 1865, the International Union of Railways of 1890, the International Union of Patents, Copyrights and Trade-marks of 1883. There are other centers which have other bureaus, but Berne has the greatest number. In Paris is located the International Bureau of Metrical Weights and Measures; in Berlin, the International Geodesic Bureau; in Brussels, the International Bureau of Customs, Tariffs, etc.

Commerce is certainly the white-winged dove of peace, for it brings about international difficulties, which compel the nations to come together and adjust them; and the crescent and the cross themselves, are not equal to the force of trade.

Constantinople is the center of the old continent, and hence is at the heart of the struggle of the East with the West; while Prague is the geographic center of Europe.

Berlin is the intellectual capital of Europe, with its collection of scientific and economic data; Paris the artistic capital, with its treasures of living art. There is as great a multiplicity of continental capitals as there are various ties that are binding the peoples and the nations of the continent together. All these centers are developing one center that is growing in strength and importance in proportion as the other centers are losing their prestige.

What, then, should hinder the European states from

forming a confederation, if their ties are so mutual and their interests so common?

They have a common religion and interests; what, then, if they have not a common tongue and are of many nationalities?

The United States of America have nothing more in common; here are peoples of many nationalities; here are three races, the black, white and yellow; here are peoples with many languages, who are being taught but one. In fact, the United States is a common camping ground for the peoples not only of Europe, but for the peoples of the entire earth, where the battle for peace is being taught the world by the example of a heterogeneous population living in harmony. Is it not, then, by analogy, reasonable to speak of the United Nations of Europe and say "*E pluribus unum*"?

THE UNITED NATIONS OF THE WORLD.

ALTHOUGH this treatise is throughout more or less general in historical treatment, there are certain facts in history after the fall of the Roman Empire which are too valuable to omit.

With the fall of Rome the Græco-Roman civilization subsided and the world dropped into chaotic darkness. The darkest day of the Dark Ages began with the death of Lothair I., one of the three sons of Charlemagne, when the World Empire which Charlemagne had revived, after spreading its sphere of influence over a greater area than did the old-world state, which took

in practically all of Europe; had gone to pieces upon his death, and to smaller pieces upon the death of his three sons, among whom the Empire was broken up by unbrotherly quarrels.

The united armies of the then known world met in the Valley of the Yonne, where all the nations of the Empire were arrayed against one another, brother against brother, and fought the decisive and disastrous battle of Fontenay. This was the first world war after the fall of Rome and the division of the Empire, and was a war for supremacy fought between brothers, the sons of Charles the Great—Lothair, Charles and Lewis. The treaty, or rather partition, of Verdun, 843, A.D., followed, and finally broke up the Empire by compact. Although Charles and Lewis restored to Lothair his capital at Aachen and consented to recognize him as Emperor and to respect him as the older brother, yet for the future they were for all practical purposes independent sovereigns.

Lothair had no power or authority outside the district which his brothers consigned to his direct sovereignty, and from this date began the alignment of smaller states against the more powerful and ambitious, to prevent an overlordship and consequently a universal empire, as was evidenced in this quarrel between brothers.

The partition of Verdun paved the way to the modern state system by dividing the empire into three long strips running north and south, and under three sovereign and independent rulers.

This treaty was the first compact dividing finally the Roman Empire, and evidences the fact that a readjustment is ever going on, for the map of Europe has been reconstructed again and again to make an equilibrium of power as is consistent with the geographical surface. The empire of Charlemagne, "Charles the Great," as he is also known, was being constantly subdivided into smaller and smaller divisions, until it became shattered into the feudal principalities, and the chaos of the Dark Ages began.

Under the reign of Charles the Great the effete Empire was revived to the highest point, and with it progress and civilization. The succeeding age had sunk away from enlightenment, and it was not until the middle of the tenth century that a rise was once more perceptible. Thus after four hundred years of vacillation, but permanent progress toward union, strength and civilization, the western world began to relapse and to fall back into disunion, weakness and ignorance.

Then came the age of the Feudal Lord and castle, and afterwards follows the period of transition, the age of gradual progress, the old order gradually passing away and a new society springing up from amidst the ruins of the dying system that had done its work.

The Feudal Lord played his important part in the history of the world's drama, for Feudalism triumphed and by its attachment to the Church saved Christianity to the world, but at what a price; and from its ruins begins to bloom a regenerated society, and we have the Renaissance. Feudalism ends the Dark Ages and

renews the struggle of the Papacy, and the effete Empire spread Christianity far into the corners of the world, while the spirit that brought about the Crusades of the Latin East, fostered the modern National Monarchies. Feudalism saved Christianity for the western world, for Christianity united the broken-up Occident against the unchristian Orient, confederated the fiefs and revived intellectual life.

The monastic revivals, the strong but limited intellectual Renaissance of the twelfth century, and the marvelous development of art, letters, and the material civilization that followed from it are the product of modern civilization.

However, the Empire was never more than a half-realized theory, and while the world had theoretically but one master under the Papacy, it was in reality ruled by a multitude of petty feudal chieftains. In other and simpler words, there was a religious union, but economic disunion.

The conflict of Papacy and Empire impaired both and again brought about a subdivision in the growth of the great national states of the thirteenth century.

Then Otto the Great took up the power of the temporal and secular scepter, and the Capetians of France and subsequently the Philips of Spain each and every one ruled in twain over the spirit and body. Thus the Pope begins gradually to lose his temporal power, and with the Clunites comes about the Reformation and the Middle Ages. The schism follows, and finally the idea of a General Council again brought the old Em-

pire together under the Church. The Church as represented by a General Council which is superior, "or the head," as the whole body is superior to any member, was the idea that was supported by the Universities of Paris, Oxford and Prag.

Afterwards came about the Council of Pisa as the result of the new project; and on March 25, 1409, Gregory and Benedict were cited to appear and answer charges before the Council. The Council was divided into two parties, the *Causa Unionis* and the *Causa Reformationis*. It, however, broke up, under the impression that it had accomplished the most important part of its programme; but it was soon evident that the schism was as far from an end as ever. Then followed the Council of Constance, November 1, 1414, which ended the schism and burned at the stake John Huss, of the University of Prag, the leader of the *Causa Reformationis* faction. The restoration of unity was ever the aim of these Councils, as is evidenced by their opposition to reform.

The ideas of man may change, indeed, but the principal aims of a social order are hard to change. The old generation melts into the new, as night into the day, and no one can say just where darkness changes into dawn or twilight into darkness; but the general rise and fall of civilization is ever felt and evidenced, sometimes by the effort of one human soul, and we can see that the nights are getting darker, the days are growing brighter in every age.

For centuries the race had lived that was to take a

hand in the final overthrow of the unity of the western Church, and while the order of society was breaking up, and the links of feudalism which bound a man to his lord, to his trade or his guild, to his fellows, to his livelihood, were bursting; the old life was disappearing and the individual of modern life was emerging.

To this change many things contributed. The movement of the Renaissance emancipated men from the somewhat narrow limits of mediævalism; it opened to them the knowledge of the ancients and gave them the glimpse of a world of thought beyond, of which the New World about to be discovered to the west seemed but a type.

The economic revolution had a like effect. The breaking-up of the organization of trades under the system of close guilds was accomplished by the rise of modern competition.

In life, as in thought, the individual was asserting himself, and amid the clashing of rival interests which this revolution necessitated a new principle of unity—that of a nationality—arose. This conception, due to an appreciation of the identity of interest based on such things as common language, common religion, natural boundaries, common hopes and fears, if a less attractive one than that of the Holy Roman Empire, was at least more capable of realization, and alone seemed able to control the spirit of individualism from running riot. It was in the territory covered by modern Germany, France, Spain and England that this new spirit of nationality had been most successful;

and if Germany was no more than a loose confederation of princes, the Hapsburgs had already had the foundation of a monarchy of their own, while the Pope was becoming more and more the prince of a temporal kingdom in Italy.

The first result of this triumph of nationality was not surprising, for when once a people have realized the identity of their interests they are apt to be aggressive. This now occurred. England, indeed, isolated from the continent, and absorbed in domestic questions, did not take much part in continental affairs as yet; but the others began to look abroad, and Italy, where alone no political unity existed, offered fair hopes of spoil. No sooner had France made the first move in pursuit of her claims on Naples than the other confederations' cupidity was aroused, and western Europe was involved in a series of international wars, which continued with but little intermission until the Peace of Vervius, 1598. Thus we see the rivalry between nations cause the first international war from a modern conception. The circumstances of the age gave to this struggle its peculiar character. National consideration had been accompanied by the triumph of monarchial principle, after its stern struggle, which of late had not been confined to temporal sphere, but had been illustrated also within the Church by the conflicts between the Papacy and the General Councils. It followed that the dynastic interests of the reigning families predominated. The monarchies no doubt represented the passions and aspirations of their subjects.

Nevertheless, their policy was deeply colored by their personal and family rivalries, and hence the wars were more prolonged than they otherwise might have been. To this must also, in part, be attributed the shifting combinations of alliances and counter-alliances, which change with the variety and rapidity of a kaleidoscope, and which make the period, so far as its wars are concerned, one of the most confused in history. In the struggle which ensued, the Romans and the Teutonic Nations came into close touch and hostile combat; the theory of the balance of power became a guiding principle of politics, and diplomacy found its birth.

Before many years had passed the unity of the Church of the West was broken by the accomplished Reformation; for it was inevitable that the religious and political questions should become involved, as in this struggle for supremacy in Europe the internal politics of the several kingdoms were deeply affected by the religious issues.

The web of European complications became more confused than ever, and if the interest of the period before us is thus enhanced, its difficulty is certainly increased. Into it all the problems of the Middle Ages became absorbed, and out of it Modern Europe was to arise.

The Thirty Years' War causes another general uprising and brings about the second international war, causing disruption and a general readjustment of boundaries and a rise in national importance, as a

necessity for the preservation of peace. The Peace of Westphalia follows, October 24, 1648.

The religious territoriality was settled by referring back to the status of the lands on the first day of 1624 as a criterion. Then came the partition treaties and the Grand Alliance, followed by the War of the Spanish Succession and the Treaty of Utrecht, September, 1714.

Article I. "recognized Philip V. as King of Spain and the Indies, on the condition that the Crowns of France and Spain should never be united under the same head." The Peace of Utrecht had been denounced perhaps with greater fervor than any of the greater settlements of European affairs, except the Treaty of Vienna, 1815, as the interests of nations and parties was the chief consideration, and not the general welfare of Europe, and the treaty is justly liable to censure for the means which were taken to bring it about.

However, it recognized the due position of France, the commercial and maritime supremacy of England, and established safeguards against France.

France again takes the lead in European affairs and enters upon a course of embittered rivalry with Germany, in which England assumes a position of first importance in the affairs of Europe. Europe is then divided upon the principle of territorialism under the rule of the absolute monarchs. The Emperor is ousted from his effective control of German policies and

finds the true center of his power on the Danube, and thus grows up the question of the Near East.

Then Europe was swept with revolution, and the greatest attempt to reunite the fragments of the old Empire by the force of arms was launched by Napoleon. Europe had fallen into a fantastic dream and the dream had rapidly grown into a nightmare, until the continent was again brought to its senses by Wellington at Waterloo.

The peoples again looked forward to a life of sober reality, into a period of facts and not of dreams, and Europe once more relapsed into peace.

The Congress of Vienna, 1815, assembled the sovereigns of Europe in council to lay the foundations of the common weal of the civilized world, which was bathed in blood, and inaugurated the hope of peace. It reconstructed the moral order and regenerated the political system of Europe by founding an enduring peace on the just redistribution of political forces. Even here the real purpose of the council was but to divide the spoils of the conquered among the conquerors. Talleyrand and all the rest washed their hands in the blood of a wounded humanity when they broke up the Polish kingdom and divided it among themselves.

They mocked the misery of a world bled red with three decades of war when they divided a race, like a human body, and joined its members to three political bodies of Europe. They created inconsistent boundaries and a racial feeling that can never be eradicated

until these parts are restored to the consistent whole. The weakness of the Congress was due to the fact that its members knew and cared to know nothing of the mind of the age, or the intellectual tendencies of the times.

The reaction from the licentious idealism of the French Revolution and the striving after a strong basis of life took a double aspect, according to the two eternal tendencies, conservative and progressive (radical) turn of the human mind. On the one hand was the political and religious reaction, which appealed from abstract principles to what seemed the more certain voice of Authority, ecclesiastical and historical. This romantic movement was, as its name implies, also tinged with idealism; but it was none the less an effort to find in the past a firm standpoint for the present. Its religious side is represented by the wave of Catholic revival which spread through western Europe, and which is not yet spent.

On the other hand, liberalism itself underwent a momentous change. The dogmas most characteristic of the Revolution had fallen into discredit even with the apostles of progress. The gospel of the Rights of Man had proved effective for pulling down the old order, but a sorry foundation for the new.

Jean Jacques Rousseau was now deposed in favor of Jeremy Bentham. The pretty theories, which had kept the salons in talk and convulsed the world, were replaced by a system, mathematical in its precision, more suited to a prosaic and practical age, and the

dreams of the state of nature and the Rights of Man give place to the gospel of Utilitarianism, with its doctrine of the "greatest happiness to the greatest number" as the supreme object of the state.

The chastened temper of Liberalism was relieved in the more modest fight of its ambitions. The principle of government "by the people for the people" had grown out of the Revolution, but in practice this had come to mean no more than the claim of capital to share in political privileges hitherto monopolized by birth.

The presumption, as Metternich called it, was, in the main, due to the expansion of commerce, the development of manufactures, and consequently the development of the power of money. The great Revolution had changed the social but not the economic basis of society. It had resulted in the emancipation of the middle classes, but the protest of Gracchus Babeuf against the privilege of wealth had scarce found a hearing.

Only with the development of the great economic revolution of the century did the claim of the proletariat to an effective share of political power become articulate; and when it did so, individual liberty was constitutionally defined, the ideal of the Revolution was attained, and the individual was placed under the power of the community, and society advanced one step toward socialism.

Nationality in its Modern sense is largely an indirect

outcome of the Revolution, with the cosmopolitan spirit of which it has so much in common.

In the eighteenth century it meant no more than the common tie which bound together a people in allegiance to the sovereign, and when the ragged armies of the French Republic first poured over the frontiers of France they believed themselves to be the missionaries of a new political gospel which was to break down all barriers between nations as between classes. When Napoleon placed upon his head the Imperial Crown the victories of humanity had become the victories of France; of a France of which the old provincial boundaries had been swept away by the Revolution, and which now, though its glory was for a moment embodied in the person of the Emperor, would be for the people, who were the source of all government and the arbiters of all things.

In the National as in the International movements of the world, the motive for confederation will always be found according to the inevitable pressure of material needs or interests, for it is in fact, after all; in this conscious recognition of a community of interest, that the strongest tie of nationality consists, as is shown in this illustration of the movement of society through the past ages, in the common danger of war.

Race, religion, language and, above all, economic interests, which are ever obliterating these distinctions, and are ever apparent in the shaping of social organisms, are the cement of humanity. Whatever may be the binding force of the former three, the force of

interest is paramount. Economic force caused the American Revolution, for it was taxation of tea that caused the war, and it was prosperity in the raising of tobacco that determined the result. Economic force caused the Civil War, for it was brought about by the South in endeavoring to continue its cheap production of cotton through the system of slavery.

The past centuries have been ushered in with the grim realities of war, but they had all ended with at least the vision of the brotherhood of man; and today, the beginning of the twentieth century, has witnessed the Russian-Japanese War, while the armed nations stand face to face, guarding jealously their exclusive privileges, and justifying the ruinous burden of their armaments as the necessary insurance of their material welfare.

Out of the French Revolution sprang the Concert of Europe, as is evidenced by the Treaty of Vienna, and the idea of the Balance of Power is reaffirmed, in that "all governments ought to make common cause in order to preserve the public peace, the tranquillity of states, the inviolability of possessions, and the faith of treaties."

Much has occurred since then to break and re-cement the solidarity of Europe.

The idea of a permanent International Court is the most important and magnificent one, and the time seems auspicious and favorable to its realization, for men are becoming weary of warfare and in general are prepared to accept any system which will give

a reasonable guarantee for moderate liberty and a continued peace.

Statesmen begin to look forward to the Confederation of Europe and the time when the Councils of the great powers will be endowed with the efficiency and simplicity of a single state that will guarantee the permanence of the established order.

This Concert arose as the result of a common fear of the powers against the encroachment of the Turk; and the idea of the Balance of Power arose as a result of the common fear of the powers of one another; and the idea of Union or Confederation is beginning to arise by reason of these two common fears and the one impending and ever accelerating danger of the radical revolutionary change in the existing order of society within the states.

But the great and future fear of the Christian world to-day is the development of a great military power among the millions of the Mongolian nations, which would simply by force of numbers sweep the Caucasian race off the face of the earth. It is certainly unreasonable to speak of disarmament in the face of this danger, and when the press heralds the second Peace Conference as a failure; because it has failed to diminish armaments to-day, it is in great and gross error, for disarmament is only a condition consequent to a mutual federation, which is coming about as soon as the danger of the Yellow Peril is manifest.

The great Kaiser Wilhelm sees the danger, and knows that even if China and Japan should consent

to diminish armaments to a par with all the nations, it aggravates the danger, for it would throw strength entirely upon the force of numbers in population, and as the other rulers will recognize and analyze this fact, the idea of disarmament, will become a thing of the past, for peace is a condition subsequent and not a condition precedent.

Then we can understand how the question of the Far East, the question of the Near East, and the Problems at home are binding the western nations closer and closer together, until they will become a Confederated State.

GOVERNMENT.

IV.

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT.

It is one of the most peculiar circumstances in all history that despotic Russia has been the guardian of European liberty, for when the Asiatic hordes of Cossacks and Tartars burst upon the western world in a crusade of conquest they were only checked by Slavonic blood of the Russians, Poles and Bohemians. Nearly submerged in the blood of their fellow-defenders, the Slavs arose again and again in their might and struck down the Ottoman in his path of conquest. The Slavic race liberated itself, and to its valor the world owes its freedom to-day.

The emancipation of Roumania, Servia, Greece and Bulgaria was accomplished by the Slavonic race. Not a free-breathing free man between the Purth and the Adriatic, the Mediterranean and the North Sea—and we can say between the Atlantic and the Pacific—but owes his liberty to this race, for it was the battle of the double cross against the crescent that saved the single cross to the world. In the Middle Ages Russia received her share of Tartar sabers, and at the dawn of Modern times, arrested the hand of the western devastator who trailed his path with fire. The burning

of Moscow delivered the death-blow to which Leipsic and Waterloo were but the *coup de grace*, and the names of Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great and Alexander I. stand out as cornerstones in Russian history.

But the name of Nicholas II. stands out as a cornerstone in the history of the world.

On March 13, 1881, Emperor Alexander had signed an ukase which would have laid the foundation of a constitutional government in Russia by establishing a consultive assembly elected by the provincial and communal assemblies. On the afternoon of the same day, before the decree had been published, he was murdered by the explosion of a nitro-glycerine bomb under his carriage. The fearful crime ended the scheme of Bismarck in the Triple Alliance of 1883, for Alexander III. was anti-German and had identified himself with the Pan-Slavic movement, which Bismarck recognized as the chief menace to the peace of Europe.

However, before his demise it was apparent that the Slavic sympathies of the Emperor were held in check by a general love of peace, and a secret treaty guaranteeing "benevolent neutrality" was signed by the three Emperors.

Then, in 1896, the Russo-French Alliance was crowned by the visit of the young Emperor Nicholas II. to Paris and a return visit by President Felix Faure, and subsequently the Dual; like the Triple Alliance was proclaimed by its principals as but one more guarantee of European Peace. Thus France backed up Russia in her expansion into the Far East and the Near East,

and England was forced into an alliance with Japan as a counterbalance to the force that was behind the Russian policy of Eastern Expansion, "to check the great Bear."

The mention of Russian advance into China brings vividly before the mind the change in the diplomatic conditions of the world during the last decade of the century. As the war between China and Japan gave Russia an opportunity to acquire Port Arthur, it brought another European power into the heart of the eastern question. France and England were already there. The appearance of Russia as an aggressive power in China brought her into combat not only with England, whose trade interests in the Celestial Empire are paramount, but with Germany and France, as well as with the new power of the East—Japan.

France had for some time been aiming at building up in another part of the Orient the empire which she had lost in India, where Napoleon had started an enterprise in 1862 by the acquisition of Saigon.

A convention signed at Tientsin with Li Hung Chang, the Viceroy of Pe-chilli, on May 11, 1884, was repudiated at Peking, but after a week or two's fighting the Chinese Government gave in, and the preliminaries of the treaty were signed at Paris by an agent of Sir Robert Hart, the Chinese Director of Customs, by which China agreed to recognize the French protectorate over Anam and Tongking, to open up these contiguous Chinese provinces to European trade, within three months of the treaty with France.

The partition of China into spheres of influence, for which France had thus set the example, is to produce a rich crop of results, of which the world will soon begin to gather the bitter fruits.

It was then that the Russian Emperor Nicholas II. saw these facts looming up in all their significance. He realized that the world must act as a unity in relation to the eastern question, or there was bound to be conflict; he saw that the time for launching the first ligament that would confederate the western world was quite timely and opportune; he knew that the semi-civilized Asiatic had lived in the state of disarmed peace for centuries, and the civilized European was attempting to maintain an armed peace during this time.

Did not Nicholas see that an armed peace was a mockery to civilization when he proposed disarmament, and did he not have in view the making of armaments the common property of all nations and thus relieve the burden of excessive expense?

In the famous and immortal Circular of August 24, 1898, in which the Czar's proposal for an International Conference to arrange for a general disarmament, was announced to the world; Count Muravieff thus sums up the consequences of the existing political conditions:

"The preservation of peace has been put forward as the object of international policy. It is in its name that the great states have concluded between themselves powerful alliances; it is the better to guarantee

peace that they have developed their military forces in proportions hitherto unprecedented, and still continue to increase them, without shrinking from any sacrifice. All their efforts, nevertheless, have not yet been able to bring about the beneficent results of the desired pacification. In proportion as the armaments of each power increase do they less and less fulfill the objects which the governments have set before themselves. Economic crises, due in great part to the system of armaments, are outrageous, and the continual danger which lies in this accumulation of war material is transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing. It appears evident, then, that if this state of things continue it will inevitably lead to the very cataclysm which it is desired to avert, and the horrors of which make every thinking being shudder in anticipation." The deduction which the Emperor of Russia desires us (through his minister) to draw from these premises will be dealt with later; meanwhile the statement is valuable as a clear exposition, which there is no reason to distrust, of the underlying motives of diplomacy since the Berlin Congress.

Further the rescript reads: "The intellectual and physical strength of nations, labor and capital, are for the major part diverted from their natural application and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are devoted to acquiring terrible engines of destruction, which, though to-day regarded as the last word of science, are destined to-morrow to lose all value

in consequence of some fresh discovery in the same field. It appears evident, then, that if the state of things were prolonged it would inevitably lead to the very cataclysm which it is destined to avert, and the horrors of which make every thinking man shudder in advance. To put an end to these incessant armaments and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which are threatening the whole world—such is the supreme duty which is to-day imposed on all states.”

The Circular is permeated throughout with the economic fallacy of continuing the present armed peace.

But the 24th day of August, 1898, is the birthday of International Disarmed Peace as certainly as it is a Declaration of International Dependence. The Articles of Confederation are yet to be drafted and the Constitution to be framed, but they are both inevitabilities. Since this declaration we have had great wars, and great wars are yet to come before the peoples are aroused to the realization that they are sacrificing their lives and their wealth for nothing, and only by reason of the fact that there is no system that can prevent it and there will be none until they refuse to fight. As a result of the Czar's initiative, an International Court has been established; but what is the Court without the other necessary adjuncts to a workable system of government? It is a step in the right direction and the most important branch of government, but the judi-

ciary cannot stand long without the legislative and the executive branches of government.

As the certainty of the law is the guarantee of national peace, so it is the guarantee of international peace, for the Court may exist, but the power of its decree will depend upon the certainty, unity and sanctity of the law.

Lower courts may develop with jurisdiction over commercial matters, but the same rule will apply to them.

The Supreme Court of the United States had but little to adjudge the first ten years, but the International Court has already adjudged many questions which would have been just causes of war in the course of but five years. Who, then, can doubt the effectiveness of this tribunal and its great future?

The United States of America justify the existence of the United States of the World, and even if our republic is being heralded as a failure, it is certainly the most successful failure in history. I am willing to admit that as civilization is evolving from darkness, so the most imperfect government is shaping itself into perfection; and as in all the old governments that history records, which were evolved from the tribal stage, where the chief was the absolute ruler (and was yet practically without power), so there is a centralization tendency in all government.

As governments developed, these chiefs became powerful and became finally the monarchs of the modern European states. They were ever becoming more

powerful and despotic; but as the enlightenment of the peoples was also becoming brighter, they demanded more and more freedom and right to participate in the affairs of state, and though rulers are supreme, the branches of all modern government are vested in the representatives of the people.

These principles of government were fought for by the peoples, step by step, and compose the bloody pages of history. First they gained the right to have their rights determined by a court; then they gained the right to determine what laws would govern the court; then they gained the right to execute the laws. Step by step the battle was fought, and is not yet at an end, even though constitutions have been gained, which are guarding these rights for the peoples of the civilized world.

By the example of the United States of America many nations of the world have established constitutional governments.

Here on this continent the peoples were given the right to govern themselves with the sweep of the pen, but it took the sweep of the sword and the march through marshes of blood before constitutions were established elsewhere as the guardians of civil liberty.

Here on this continent the peoples were given the right to govern themselves by a mutual compact; elsewhere the peoples only acquired it by the force of arms.

This is a significant fact, and goes to show that just governments can be set up without the force of arms

and bloodshed. The Constitution of the United States provides for the judiciary, legislative and executive branches of government all at once. Each co-ordinate and co-equal, acts as a check and balance against the other. Each has supreme power over certain functions of government with which the other branches cannot interfere. No system of government was ever organized so well or upon such just principles as is organized, by the Constitution of the United States, and it has withstood the storm of dismemberment and expansion, of rebellion and revolution, and I dare say will prove a model for the Constitution of the World.

When we look over the storms of the past and look into the gathering clouds of the future we may well ask ourselves which of the three branches of government is the most important: the Executive, which is represented by the President; the Legislative, which is represented by the Congress; or the Judiciary, which is represented by the Supreme Court.

The executive branch is of great importance, for of what effect would be the law without its proper execution? The legislative branch is of great importance, for the rapidity of modern progress would soon leave us without law concerning many subjects and the strength of the law would be defeated by its uncertainty.

The judiciary branch of government is of great importance, for of what effect would be legislation and execution without adjudication?

The right of trial is the rock of liberty; without it governments fail and fall.

Destroy all the branches of government, but leave the courts, and they will soon furnish the necessary accessories; but destroy the courts and the government itself is destroyed. The Supreme Court of the United States was the greatest body in the world until the establishment of the International Court at The Hague, for, in fact, the sanctity, impartiality and justice of an arbiter carries with it the three functions of government.

The peoples are sovereign in the United States; for the President, Congress and the Supreme Court are but the servants of the Public. And even the Constitution, which is pre-eminently above all the branches of government, is not above the people, for they may amend and consequently practically repeal it.

The President's supremacy is asserted when he refuses to sign a bill and make it a law, and his supremacy from a legal standpoint goes only as far as the veto, which may be submerged, and the bill passed by a two-thirds vote. Thus the Congress takes away the supreme supremacy of the President and becomes itself supreme.

But in the last analysis the Supreme Court is above the President, above the Congress, yes, above the Constitution itself upon all constitutional questions; for the law may be enacted by the Congress and signed by the President, but when it comes before the Supreme Court upon the question of constitutionality, the

Supreme Court interprets the Constitution, stretches it, defines it, and limits it, according to its best judgment, in the light of precedent and the intent of the framers of this immortal document, and we see that the power of interpretation carries with it the power of legislation and execution.

Laws may be executed by a wholesome public sentiment, as the intelligence of the people is growing. New laws may come into being by judicial decision and thus do away with the necessity of an executive and legislative body, but organized government cannot last long without the power of determining the rights existing between the peoples. Adjudication is the fulcrum on which the balance scales of justice rest and the greatest force for the advancement and progress of civilization.

Why, then, should any man look to the International Court with any other than the greatest confidence in its future in determining disputes between nations? Adjudication tells the world what is right, and the civilized world affirms by the great force of public opinion. The first and greatest branch of an international government has been established, and, although the nations have not yet crystallized an executive and legislative branch, we can foresee the inevitability of the realization of an International Parliament in the near future.

The second step is most certainly a step in the right direction, and is bound to hasten the third and last step as inevitably as the night followeth the day.

Twilight of the rising sun of Peace is stealing over the yet dark world, and no reasonable man can predict anything other than the Republic of the World as the crowning act in the fullness of day; for only at high noon will the nations all join in a common unity of brotherhood, and then, as the evening approaches again, into the shadowy sunset, the peoples will sink back into midnight darkness.

Such is the history of civilization, the rise and fall of man.

THE INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENT.

THE crude yet steady development of international law foretells the necessity of an international parliament and foreshadows its consummation.

In the days of Ayala, Brunus, Gentilis, Grotius and Pufendorf their theories as to what should be the rules that would rightly govern the conduct between nations had but little effect. These conditions have so changed that to-day a body of fairly established rules and principles are observed in interstate action, and form the subject matter of international law.

This law is divided into public international law, which treats of the rules and principles which are generally observed in interstate action, and private international law, which treats of the rules and principles which are observed in cases of conflict of jurisdiction in regard to private rights, termed, according to Judge Story, "Conflict of Laws."

International law is generally observed by civilized

states; even some of those states not fully open to western civilization profess to observe its rules.

The expansion of commerce and trade, the introduction of new and rapid means of communication, the diffusion of knowledge through books and travel, the establishment of permanent embassies, the making of many treaties containing the same general provisions, and the whole movement of modern civilization toward unifying the interests of states have rapidly enlarged the range of international action and the scope of international law. Civilized states, so far as possible, observe these rules of international law in their dealings with uncivilized communities which have not yet attained model statehood. International Law covers all the relations into which civilized states may come, both peaceful and hostile.

In general it does not extend its scope so as to interfere with domestic affairs or to limit domestic jurisdiction, though it does often limit the economic and commercial action of a given state and determine to some extent its policy. The conception of these rules and principles of which international law treats has varied greatly with periods, with conditions, and with writers.

The early terminology indicates the vagueness of the conceptions of the principles governing conduct of man toward his fellows.

Jus naturæ is defined broadly by Ulphian as "the law which Nature has taught all living creatures, so as to be common to men and beasts." Hugo Grotius

also used this term, defining it as "the dictate of right reason, indicating that any act from its agreement or disagreement with rational nature has in it moral turpitude or moral necessity, and consequently such act is either forbidden or enjoined by God, the author of nature." Lieber says, "The law of nature or natural law . . . is the law, the body of rights, which we deduce from the essential nature of man."

The discussion of *jus naturæ* has been carried on from an early period, covering many portions of the field of modern international law and making possible the broadening and strengthening of its foundations.

Jus gentium, according to Justinian, is "that which natural reason has established among men, that which all peoples uniformly regard." *Jus gentium* is common to the whole of human kind. This idea of a body of law common to all men assumed a different meaning when states multiplied and writer after writer re-defined and qualified its meaning. *Jus gentium* became the subject of many controversies and finally became the law between the foreigner and the Roman citizen.

Among the qualifying terms, "internal," "necessary," "natural," "positive" and other terms were used to name the field or portions of the field of modern international law. *Jus fetiale* applied particularly to the declaration of war and sanction of treaties. *Jus inter gentes* was used by Zouch in 1650 to name the real field of international law. Laws of nations were commonly used as a term in England until the days of Bentham; since then the term international law,

which he adopted, has steadily grown in favor till almost universal in the English language.

If law is defined, as by Austin, "A rule laid down for guidance of an intelligent being by an intelligent being having power over him," it would be possible to include under it international law, by considering the nations a composite being. If law is defined, as by Blackstone, "A rule of action prescribed by a superior power," it is doubtful if international law would come under it, because it is to-day prescribed by no superior power.

Of course, "having power over him" conveys a "superior power," which might be public opinion, public sentiment or public will; but the term superior power conveys an organized superiority, and, as I have pointed out before, no law is absolutely superior or above the law of force, from which civilization is gradually drifting.

This continued change in terminology shows in a measure the growth in the feeling of internationality, which is at the same time an assertion of independence.

The Jural basis of International Law is the Roman Law, the Canon Law, the Common Law, Equity and Admiralty Law.

International Law at present is but a body of rules and principles in accordance with which interstate phenomena take place, and violations of international law do not meet the same penalties as those of national law, as they have no established tribunal for their

enforcement and execution. International law is, however, in form "law" and in practice so regarded.

The history of the development of the rules and principles now considered in international law naturally falls into three periods, ancient, middle and modern. The ancient dates from the development of the earliest European civilization and extends to the beginning of the Christian Era.

The dispersion of the Greeks in many colonies which became practically independent communities gave rise to systems of intercourse involving the recognition of general obligations. The Maritime Law of Rhodes is an instance of the general acceptance of common principles. The main body of this law has not survived, yet the fragment appearing in the Digest, *De Leges Rodia de Jactu*, is, after more than two thousand years, the basis of the present doctrine of jettison. The recognition by Greece of the existence of the independent states, and the relations into which the states entered, developed crude forms of international comity, as in the sending and receiving of ambassadors and the formation of alliances.

Rome made many contributions to the principles of international law in the way of the extension of her own laws to wider spheres and in the attempt to adapt Roman laws to conditions in remote territories. In the early period Rome may be said to have contributed to the field of what is now private international law as well as public international law. This is evident in regard to the laws of marriage, contract, property, etc.

The dominance of Rome impressed her laws on others and extended the influence of those precepts which, from general practice or conformity to accepted standards, gained the name *Jus Gentium*.

The varied struggle in the middle period, from the beginning of the Christian Era to the middle of the seventeenth century, has a decided influence upon the body and form of international law. The appeal in case of disagreement was not to such standards, but to Cæsar. The idea of the common supremacy was deep-rooted, and a similar unifying influence was found in the growth of the Christian Church, which knew no distinction between bond or free, Jew or Gentile.

Christianity became the state religion early in the fourth century, modeling its organization on that of the Roman Empire; and from the sixth century, with the decay of the Empire, the Church became the great power.

The belief in the entity and universality of the Roman dominion was strengthened by the Church, although materially changed in its nature. Whatever the inconsistencies of the Church and State during the first ten centuries of our era, there had grown up the idea of great importance for international law, that there could be a ground upon which all might meet, a belief which all might accept, both in regard to political and religious organizations.

For five hundred years before the days of Boniface

VIII. (1204-1303) the holder of the papal office had from time to time acted as an international judge.

The Canon Law codified by Gregory IX. (1227-1241) was planned to rival the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. The Popes, with varying degrees of success, tried to render such into national justice as the discordant elements introduced by the growth of cities and rise of nationalities demanded. From the Council of Constance (1414-1418), which was a recognition of the fact of nationality, and at which time the Emperor for the last time appeared as the great international head, the decline of both Church and Empire as direct international factors was rapid.

By the eleventh century Feudalism had established both the temporal and spiritual authorities. This system, closely related to the possession of land and gradation of classes, discouraged the development of the idea of equality of state power necessary for the development of international law, though it did emphasize the doctrine of sovereignty as based on land in distinction from the personal sovereignty of earlier days.

The Crusades (1096-1270), uniting Christendom against the Saracen for foreign intervention, awakening Europe to a new civilization, expanding the study and practice of the Roman law which feudal courts had checked, weakening many feudal overlords, enfranchising towns, freeing the third estate, spreading the use of the Latin language, enlarging and diffusing commerce, teaching the possibility of national interests,

led to the apprehension of a broader basis in comity and made the growth of interstate relations more rapid.

The code of chivalry and the respect for honor which it enjoined introduced a basis of equitable dealing which, on account of the international character of the orders of chivalry, reacted upon the state practice throughout Christian Europe.

The expansion of commerce, especially maritime, emphasized the duties and rights of nations; for, from the fall of the empire to the Crusades, commerce was attended with great dangers from pirates on the sea and from exactions in the port. The so-called Amalfitan Tables seem to have been the sea law of the latter part of the eleventh century.

The much more detailed *Consolato del Mare*, of doubtful origin, between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries derived some of its principles from the eleventh century code. The *Consolato* was recognized by maritime powers as generally binding and made possible wide commercial intercourse. Many of its principles have stood to the present day, though touching such questions as the mutual rights of neutrals and belligerents on the sea in time of war.

As the *Consolato* formed the code of southern Europe, the Laws of Oleron formed the maritime code for western Europe, and were compiled the latter part of the twelfth century, whether by Richard I. or his mother, Queen Eleanor, is a disputed question. These laws are based in a large measure on the other existing systems.

The Laws of Wisby, dating from about 1288, supplemented the Laws of Oleron and formed the fundamental law of maritime courts of the Baltic nations. The Hanseatic League (1591) compiled a system of maritime law, called "*Jus Hanseaticum Maritimum*," based on the code of western and northern Europe, and this maritime law of Europe was practically unchanged for nearly a hundred years, until systematized in 1673 under Louis XIV. Similar to the maritime codes are the Customs of Amsterdam, the Laws of Antwerp and the Guidon de la Mar.

Closely connected with the development of the maritime law during the latter part of the middle period was the establishment of the official consul. The consuls, under the title of "*consules marinariorum et mercatorum*," resided in foreign countries, assisted by advice and information the merchants of their own countries, and endeavored to secure to their countrymen such rights and privileges as possible. These seem to have been sent out by Pisa early in the eleventh century, and were for some time mainly sent by the Mediterranean countries to the East.

The Modern period may be divided into three epochs of International Law development:

First—From the Peace of Westphalia (1648) to the Peace of Utrecht (1713). Second—From the Peace of Utrecht (1713) to the Congress of Vienna (1815). Third—From the Congress of Vienna to the present time.

During the first period it became evident at the ter-

mination of the Thirty Years' War that the old doctrine of a World Empire, whether of the Pope or Emperor, could no longer be sustained.

The provisions in the Peace of Westphalia, while not creating a code to govern international relations, did give legal recognition to the existence of such conditions as Grotius contemplated in *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, viz., equality of sovereign state, regardless of area or power.

During the second period the Treaty of Utrecht was enacted, and contained recognition of many of the principles which had become fairly well accepted during the years since 1648.

The French Revolution of 1789 introduced new principles. The "armed neutrality" of 1780, while maintaining the principle of "free ships, free goods," made impossible the converse "enemy's ships, enemy's goods," which had been held to be the law. Both the French and the American revolutions made evident the necessity of the development of laws of neutrality (hitherto greatly confined and disregarded), for after the French Revolution it became necessary to define just intervention, that Europe might not again be convulsed. It became evident that the state was an entity and distinct from the person of the King. No longer could the King of France or of any European state say, "*L'état c'est moi.*" The growth of commerce and intercourse made necessary new laws of neutrality and new principles of comity, such as were in part forthcoming in the early days of the nineteenth century, as

seen in the resistance to the right of search, the declaration against African slave trade, establishment of freedom of river navigation, improved regulation in regard to trade in time of war, neutralization of Switzerland, placing of protectorate over Ionian Islands, and the determination of precedence and dignities of the various diplomatic agents and the states which they represented.

During the third period the Peace of Westphalia, the Treaty of Utrecht and the Treaty of Vienna are the three celebrated cases of combined action of the European powers, and they are but the terminus of war, as is said after war, "Peace."

The "Balance of Power" was gradually being supplanted by the "Concert of Powers," which would not merely maintain the *statu quo* of the "balance," but might enter upon a positive policy of concerted action, and during this period the "Holy Alliance" of 1815, to promote "Justice, Christianity, Charity and Peace," was first broken by its originators, though it served its purpose.

There was a strong feeling that the principles of international law should be followed, however, and this the Declaration of Five Cabinets, November 15, 1818, distinctly avowed in their unwarrantable resolution never to depart, either among themselves or in their relations with other states, from the strictest observation of the principles of the "Rights of Nations." The attempt to extend the principle of intervention in favor of maintaining the various sovereigns on their

thrones, and in suppression of internal revolutionary disturbances by foreign force, was made in the "Circular of the Three Powers," December 8, 1820.

The Grecian War of Independence (1821-1829) brought the new principle of pacific blockade (1827), and at its conclusion the powers guaranteed the sovereignty of Greece.

The subjects of right of search, foreign enlistment, Monroe Doctrine, freedom of commerce and navigation, expatriation, extradition, neutralization of territory, ship canals, consular rights, neutral rights and duties, arbitration reciprocity, mixed courts, international postage, weights and measures, trade-marks and copyrights, rules of war, submarine cables, and sphere of influence, which have come to the front during the nineteenth century, indicate in a measure the subject matter of international negotiation and the importance of an International Parliament to fix the certainty of the law upon the ever-increasing and multifarious subjects of international disputes.

The International Law has grown up by reason of international practice or custom, but these principles upon which the law is founded are found in the text writers or expounders of the law and in treaties or international compacts, of which I have given brief sketches, for they are practically an international code.

Among the writers of International Law before the days of Grotius the most prominent are Victoria (— 1550?), Ayala (1548-1584), Swarz (1548-1617) and Gentilis (1551-1611).

While in many respects their contributions to the science were valuable, the work of Grotius stands out pre-eminently among all the earlier writers.

Hugo Grotius, who was born in Delft, April 10, 1853, and died in Rostock, August 28, 1645, is the greatest of international law writers.

Grotius was a scholar, jurist, statesman, of good family, precocious, prodigious in learning of many branches. At fifteen he was with a special embassy at France; at twenty, a historiographer to the United Provinces; at twenty-five, advocate-general of the fisc of Holland and Zealand; he married, at twenty-six, Mary von Riegesberg, a worthy helpmate; at thirty he was pensionary of the city of Rotterdam; was also deputed to England to settle maritime disputes.

Grotius took an active part in religious disputes, on which account he was sentenced to imprisonment and his property confiscated. Two years later, through the cleverness of his wife, he escaped to Paris. Here were days of adversity and study.

In 1625 "*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*" was published, and brought immediate fame, but no profit. This treatise attempts to bring into a systematic treatment those principles which have since become known as international law. It touched upon many other subjects. Rich in quotations, its broad philosophical basis gives it permanent value. The conditions in Europe at the time of its appearance gave it immediate and powerful influence in determining the course of modern political history.

Zouch (1590-1660), the successor of Gentilis as professor in Roman Law at Oxford, while a follower of Grotius in matter and method, deserves mention for his distinction between *jus gentium* and that law to which he gives the name *jus inter gentes*, in the French translation called "*Droit entre les Gens* later *Droit International*," and in the English, "Law of Nations," and since Bentham, "International Law."

Pufendorf (1632-1694) in his voluminous work in general follows Grotius.

Rachel (1628-1691) headed a new school that assigned a stronger authority to the principle of international law, and gave more attention to usage, whether tacitly admitted or plainly expressed, and to compacts.

Bynkerhoek (1673-1743), limiting his work to particular subjects in international law, gave to the eighteenth century several authoritative treatises which are justly regarded as of the highest worth. He especially defined the laws of maritime commerce between neutrals and belligerents (*De Domino Maris*, 1702), gave an outline of ambassadorial rights and privileges (*De Foro Legatorum*, 1721), besides contributing to a much clearer understanding of the general subject of international law.

Wolfe (1679-1754) published *Jus Gentium*, basing international law on a state universal, "*civitas maxima*," made up of the states of the world, in their capacity as voluntarily recognizing a natural law.

Vattel (1714-1767), an ardent admirer of Wolfe,

published, in 1758, "Law of Nations," which he based upon that of Wolfe.

Moser (1701-1786) brings into the science the positive method which Rachel had hinted at in his work a hundred years before. He narrows his view to the principles underlying the cases of his own day and builds the science upon recent precepts. The method thus introduced has strongly influenced succeeding writers.

G. F. de Martens (1756-1801) combines in a measure the method of Vattel with the positive method of Moser in his "*Précis de Droit des Gens Moderne de l'Europe*," 1789. This treatise has been a recognized standard.

Wheaton (1785-1848), the foremost American writer on International Law, published in 1836 his "Elements of International Law," which has long been recognized as a standard throughout the world.

Beside the great work of Wheaton justly stands Plulmoie's "Commentaries upon International Law."

Many other works of the highest merit have appeared during the latter half of the new century, such as those of Bluntschili, Travers, Twiss, Calvo, Wharton, Pradier-Fodere, and the eminent authority, the late William Edward Hall.

There are many other living writers who are contributing to the great work of perfecting international law; but, with all these and the multitude of great writers that may come in the future, the system of international law will be very crude indeed if it is to

depend upon expounders whose force is solely good judgment and argument, which is not often recognized until long after they are dead and the principles for which they had contended become obsolete from the force of human progress, although it was vital and just law at the time that it was expounded.

Truly, above all force, the force of argument and reason is supreme; but for what counteth the argument of one man when it conflicts with the interests of others?

I dare say again that the time is opportune for the second important branch of international government, the International Parliament to enact international law and make more certain and definite the rights of nations.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

I HAVE shown how the different sections of Europe have confederated by loose ties for mutual protection, ever guarding zealously local autonomy and in fear of a central power of government. But as the external danger grew greater and greater, closer and closer became the bond between these principalities, until there were recognized common systems of government and a ruler. The force of arms only hastened this natural tendency, for a centralization in one part of the continent only hastened a centralization in another, as balance of force against an impending danger of attack and invasion.

The two forces of individualism and collectivism were strongly manifest through the whole period of the formation of the modern European states. The strongest ruler of necessity was the man who had the greatest following, strength, and possibly the best system.

In order to demonstrate the feasibility of an International Executive, I wish to go briefly through the development of the system of government in the United States of America and point out the limitations placed not only upon the executive of the United States, but upon the executive of all the other powers as a result of the example of the United States, as is evidenced by the French Revolution and the constitutions that followed immediately afterward.

The Continental Congress wanted no one head to the government, making the executive powers as weak as possible, and only after the articles of confederation were found wanting in the fundamental of all government, the Constitution was drafted with an executive and the power to tax. It is certain that the individualistic tendency of the West should influence the East, as the world is growing closer and closer, and likewise that the socialism of the East should influence the West, thus bringing the whole civilized world to a common, liberal level; and yet, at the same time, it is reasonable that certain economic conditions should drive sections into either of the extremes.

I am likewise led to believe that the individualistic tendency in government, or democracy, as it is gener-

ally known, and the socialistic form of government, or autocracy, as it is generally known, are merging into the Liberal or Republican form of government all over the world.

The indications are quite obvious that in the tendency toward unification of nations the Liberal form of government should be the supreme aim of the peoples.

It is true that the democratic tendency has been developed to the highest degree, so far, in America, and from this new world all modern individualistic governments have gained their inspiration.

This movement is primarily an economic one, due to the contact of individualistic nature and atmosphere of the West, where there is freedom of land and untainted free air, which makes for courage and not cowardice.

In 1765 a congress of delegates from nine colonies, held in New York for the purpose of organizing resistance to the oppressions of George III., was followed by another congress in Philadelphia in 1774, which called itself Continental (for the name America had not yet been established).

This congress asserted its right of representation "in the name of the good people of these colonies," the first assertion of any sort of national unity among the English in America. This congress, in which, from 1775 onward, all the colonies were represented, was merely a revolutionary body. On July 4, 1776, it declared the independence of the colonies, and in

1776 it gave itself a new legal character, framing the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union," whereby the thirteen states (as they called themselves) entered into "a firm league of friendship" with each other, offensive and defensive, while declaring that "each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and the right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

This confederation was rather a league than a government, for it possessed no central authority except an assembly, in which every state, the largest and the smallest alike, had one vote, and this assembly had no jurisdiction over the individual citizens.

There was no Federal Executive, no Federal Judiciary, but a Local Judiciary, based upon a common law and a parliamentary congress, with practically no power, for the want of the right of taxation—an economic function.

This individualistic plan corresponds strikingly to the international condition of affairs to-day.

There is an international court, with limited powers and only the international compacts and text writers to depend upon for its source of law as a precedent.

The Interparliamentary Union corresponds strikingly to the powers of the Continental Congress, which had nothing but the good will of the people and the bad will of the Governors. There was no executive, as there is no International Executive at present; but this movement has the good will of the rulers, pre-

sumptively. Washington was quite liberal and correct when he said it was no better than anarchy.

The Peace of Paris was ratified in 1783, and in 1786 a convention of delegates from five states met at Annapolis, Maryland, to discuss methods of enabling Congress to regulate commerce, which suffered grievously from the varying and burdensome regulations imposed by the several states. A convention was summoned, upon the suggestion of the Congress of Annapolis, to meet at Philadelphia on the 14th day of May, 1787, for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation. George Washington was chosen to preside.

This famous assembly of fifty-five delegates revised the Articles of Confederation by framing a new Constitution, to be considered and ratified neither by Congress nor the State Assemblies, but by the *People* of the several states. This was the most critical moment in the history of the world.

The convention had sat behind closed doors for five months in work and labor commensurate with the magnitude of the past and the splendor of the result, for it was breaking up a Confederation and forming a Union by substituting the Articles of Confederation with a Constitution and creating a more centralized government.

An executive was provided for, to be known as President, and even then the people heralded a strong ruler and government at home as a worse condition than a despot abroad. Would the People ratify the

Constitution? We can hardly to-day realize the enormity of these difficulties. Jefferson framed the Constitution and was its principal defender, but when he said, "That government which governs the least is best," Hamilton took exception. Hamilton believed it to be but little better than the Articles of Confederation, and proposed amendments for a strongly centralized government.

Out of these opinions sprang the two great parties that are still contending for supremacy—the Republican and Democratic.

Only through the efforts of Washington was the Constitution framed on a compromised ground between the struggling, opposing forces, and it was he who saved the day and is the real hero of the crucial hour.

Washington stood as the sole arbiter of America's destiny. Immaculately superior in the hearts of his countrymen, his suggestion had the force of the strongest argument. He was not a radical nor a conservative, but a liberal in the fullest sense of the word. Washington had the confidence of everybody, and in his election as President the people saw only a benevolent ruler and felt the assurance of a guarantee of the Bill of Rights, so he was unanimously chosen.

It was Washington who secured the liberties of this nation by his valor at Valley Forge, his courage in the Convention, and his returned affection in the hearts of the American people. The people had their Courts under George III., and they established a legislative

body by the Continental Congress and subsequently the Executive by the Constitution.

The United States of America were built up into a Union by a slow process of evolution, and the final solution of the problem came about by the stroke of the pen of Thomas Jefferson, who was learned in the systems of government that existed from the Fall of Babylon, for he did not gain his knowledge except by deep and profound study.

Rousseau and Hume loaned him paint with which to make his masterpiece. Tacitus and Cicero loaned their paint to Hume and Rousseau, Herititus and Demosthenes loaned their paint to Tacitus and Cicero, and so on until the United States of America, by the beautiful blending and simplification of colors, is the last great masterpiece in the Art of Government.

The question of a central head or executive is the point around which the completion of an international government must of necessity rest its contest and will be the crucial period in the establishment of an International Union. The American Confederation conclusively proved the want of some central power, and it cannot be conjectured that the alarm felt as to the danger from one-man power was largely quelled by the presence of a man like Washington.

It was extremely difficult to determine a satisfactory method of choosing a President, as well as the determination of his powers. Hamilton wanted the President to serve for life. Jefferson wanted him to serve for only a limited period. For the People to vote directly

for the President would put him into too close touch with the People and might give him excessive power. For the Congress to elect him it would give the Congress the executive power, so electors were agreed upon. This plan was expected to secure the choice of the best citizens of each state, who would in a tranquil and deliberate way choose the Chief Magistrate of the Union.

The Constitution provided: "The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish."

"All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in the Congress of the United States."

"The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America."

The government was formed into three separate and distinct departments, as was pointed out by Montesquieu to be necessary for the Liberties of a People.

The Constitution thus guaranteed an indestructible Union of indestructible States.

The powers and duties of the Executive are as follows:

"Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army and Navy and of the militia of the several states when called into the service of the United States."

"Power to make treaties, but with the aid and advice of the Senate, *i.e.*, consent of two-thirds of the Senators present. To appoint Ambassadors and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court and all other high Fed-

eral officials, but with advice and consent of the Senate."

"To grant reprieves and pardons of offenses against the United States, except in case of impeachment."

"To convene both houses on extraordinary occasions."

"To veto bills, *i.e.*, to refuse to sign any bill or resolution passed by Congress, but subject to the power of Congress to finally pass the same, after reconsideration and passing by a two-thirds vote in each house."

"Duty to inform Congress of the state of the Union and to recommend measures to Congress."

"To commission all of the officers of the United States."

"To receive foreign Ambassadors."

"To take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

The domestic authority of the President in time of peace is small and depends upon the aggressiveness and strenuosity of the occupant of the chair, because by far the largest part of law and administration belongs to the State governments, and because Federal administration is regulated by statutes, which leave little discretion to the Executive. In time of war, however, and especially in a civil war, it expands with portentous speed. Both as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy and as charged with the faithful execution of the laws, the President is likely to be led to assume all the powers which the emergency requires.

How much he can legally do without the aid of statutes is disputed, for the acts of President Lincoln dur-

ing the earlier part of the War of Secession, including his proclamation suspending the Writ of Habeas Corpus, were subsequently legalized by Congress; but it is at least clear that Congress can make him, as it did make Lincoln, almost a dictator.

The position of the President as respects legislation is a peculiar one. The King of England is a member of the English Legislature, because Parliament is in theory his Great Council, which he summons and in which he presides, hearing the complaints of the people and devising legislative remedies.

The President is independent of the Congress and only has his right of veto as a legislative function. The chief presidential function, is, to have one man at the head of a government, where he may be immediately vested with powers, to command the army and navy and crush rebellion or external war. Otherwise his powers are but ministerial. However, executive power within certain limits depends upon the person of the President, as to whether he is strong or weak. The government is so constructed that he can be a tyrant with the masses against the classes, as well as a tyrant with the classes against the masses.

The theory of the sovereignty of the people places the individual as the center of the political system, and individualism was the cornerstone of the theory of Thomas Jefferson's principle in government. He was a great student of Montesquieu, and did not hesitate to quote the great Frenchman in an address to the Ministry of Quebec, where he used these words: "In

a free state every man who is supposed to be a free agent ought to be concerned in his own government, therefore the legislative function should reside in the whole body of the people or their representatives." A year later Jefferson repeated the idea in the Declaration of Independence, and still later was successful in having this ideal incorporated into the Constitution.

A hundred years before Jefferson, William Penn, one of America's first Democrats, expressed the principle of popular sovereignty in a letter to the inhabitants of New Jersey when he said, "We place the power in the People."

Two hundred years before Jefferson, Grotius wrote in his Dutch Jurisprudence, "Through birth all men are equal." But only Jefferson was able to consummate this ideal of Liberty (the natural right of man), as he lived in the right place and at the right time. He advanced the doctrine at a crucial period in the evolution of democracy, and advanced it so far and so skillfully that we may justly herald him as its author of establishment. He made it the cornerstone of American government, and as Jefferson used Montesquieu's "Spirit of Laws" as a political bible, upon the theories of that work, our government is founded. It was also a premier of government to Washington.

It must be noted here that Montesquieu, discussing the natural rights of man, while favoring democracy, advocates whatever government is best suited to the people, as shall be determined by race, climate and geographical situation; and it is also a noticeable fact

that a clause in the original draft of the Declaration abolishing slavery was stricken out owing to this idea and by reason of the desire of unanimity, being dictated by the spirit of compromise.

So we see that as the Anglo-Saxon blood flowed westward it became more and more individualistic, and the English institutions were a model of the American Constitution only in so far as they were consistent with the individualistic spirit in America.

It is true that to-day England has as democratic a form of government as the United States, and we can readily see that there would be no reason for the United States to sever their relation with England to-day were she on the same basis of government as is Canada. To-day the British Isles would have occasion to declare their independence from a great and powerful republic which is growing more and more dominant and imperialistic. Why, then, should England complain of her loss? When Canada develops to the extent that the United States has, England will become a colony in essence. Edmund Burke was right when he defended the rights of the American colonies on the ground that it was England who would suffer in governing them without representation, for this prodigal son (United States) has grown stronger than his mother.

In ancient republics a caste proposed legislation, which the people might reject or adopt; but in England the people initiate all legislation through their repre-

sentatives, the House of Commons, especially with respect to taxation and appropriation.

The executive power in the English Government is vested in the Crown, and includes very large and dangerous powers. The prerogatives of the King are as follows:

"The King declares war."

"The King is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy."

"The King makes peace and negotiates and ratifies treaties."

"The King has the absolute veto power upon all bills passed by the two houses."

"The King holds by hereditary title, but subject to limitation by Parliament."

The limitation upon the hereditary title of the Crown by act of Parliament has often been exercised, as Blackstone shows, but was vindicated as a settled principle of the Constitution by the Bill of Rights of 1689 and the act of settlement of twelfth and thirteenth William III. in 1700. The House of Lords by statute claimed to hold the Crown *de jure*, and that the holding by the Kings of the house of Lancaster was only *de facto*.

As all governments, the English institutions are divided into the three branches of government: the Judiciary, the Legislative and the Executive. Originally the King, by the right to declare war, act as commander, make treaties and veto bills, had absolute power over all the three branches of government. Al-

though in theory this is still his prerogative, in fact his power is as limited as that of the President of the United States.

Now, in several of the states of the continent of Europe the main features of a representative government have been copied directly or indirectly from English models, while the details have grown up of themselves or are a survival of earlier traditions.

On the continent the origin of parliamentary government dates as far back as the beginning of the Middle Ages, which gave birth to two political ideas.

The first of these was the division of the peoples into separate classes or estates, each of which has independent political functions of its own.

The second was representative government, or the election by these estates, whose members were too numerous to assemble in a body, of deputies authorized to meet together and act for the whole estate.

The first theory prevailed in the continental governments until the French Revolution, and the latter prevailed, as it does to this day.

Unlike the President of the United States, the French President is not free to use his powers according to his own judgment, for in order to make him independent of the fate of cabinets, and at the same time to prevent his personal power from becoming too great, the constitutional laws declare that he shall not be responsible for his official conduct, except in case of high treason, and that all his acts, of every kind, to be valid, must be countersigned by one of the min-

isters ; and thus, like the British monarch, he has been put under the popular guardianship and can do no wrong. When, therefore, we speak of the powers of the French President, we speak of those really exercised by the ministers, who are responsible to the Chamber of Deputies.

The President of the United States in theory has but little power ; the President of the French Republic has still less ; and the King of England, who is seemingly vested with great powers, is but a figure-head. They all have little power during peace, but are all vested with the power of a Cæsar during war. The primary function of an executive is, then, commander-in-chief of the army and navy, for at a moment of impending danger there is no time for debate, and rapid action can only be assured by the absolute power of one man, and this power is the most important and at the same time the most dangerous.

England is probably the most decentralized of governments among the powers, France coming next, and then the United States.

Germany's government has the next strongest centralized government of the powers. The Emperor is but the King of Prussia, and enjoys his imperial prerogatives by virtue of his royal office. There is, in fact, no imperial crown, and the right to have her King bear the title and exercise the functions of Emperor is really one of the special privileges of Prussia. The language of the Constitution is : "The Presidency of the Union belongs to the King of Prussia, who

bears the title of German Emperor." It has been said that as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy the Emperor has in theory the personal direction of the military affairs, but that in all other matters he acts as the delegate of the confederated governments, under the direction of the Bundesrath.

"He has charge of foreign affairs, makes treaties, subject to the limitations already mentioned, and represents the Empire in its relation to other countries, to the states, or to the individuals."

"He declares war with the consent of the Bundesrath and carries on Federal execution against a state when it has been ordered by that body."

"He summons and adjourns the Chamber, and closes their sessions, and with the consent of the Bundesrath he can dissolve the Reichstag."

"He promulgates the laws and executes them so far as their administration is in the hands of the Empire, subject, however, to the important qualification that most of the administrative regulations are made by the Bundesrath."

"His functions as Emperor and King are, indeed, so interwoven that it is very difficult to distinguish them."

"As Emperor he has supreme command of the army and appoints the highest officials."

"As King of Prussia he appoints the lower officers and has the general management of the troops over most of Germany. As Emperor he instructs the Chancellor to prepare a bill. As King he instructs him to

introduce it into the Bundesrath, and directs how one-third of the votes of that body shall be cast."

With the power of the most centralized government of Russia fading away, stripped and rent by bloody revolution, the Empire of Austro-Hungary remains as the most centralized and despotic of the great nations. The powers of the Emperor of Austria are legally and in theory much the same as in the other constitutional monarchy of Germany, but in fact it is more absolute.

"The Emperor's sanction is required for the enactment of laws."

"He has power to make treaties, to issue ordinances, to appoint officials, to create peers, to grant pardons and amnesties, and to summon, adjourn and dissolve the various legislatures."

"The Fundamental Law declares that he governs by means of responsible ministers, and by statute all his acts must be countersigned by a minister of state."

Practically, however, the ministers are the servants of the Crown and not the Parliament, and hence the Emperor can really use his powers with great freedom. He uses this power to quell the incessant quarrels between the different races, which are too bitterly hostile to combine, while no one of them is strong enough to rule alone—a state of things that makes it easy for the government to play off against each other these opposing forces and have its own way. In theory, the parliamentary theory is in force, but in practice the Emperor is so far from being a figure-head that since the present Constitution was adopted he has actually

refused to sanction a bill passed by both houses of Parliament.

If we compare his position to that of the German Emperor we shall find that although the forms of parliamentary government are more closely followed at Vienna than in Berlin, yet, owing to his ability to manage the popular Chamber, Francis Joseph is, in fact, more independent of popular control than William II.

Finally, the Austrian Government remains the most centralized government of the world, as civilization is enlightening the peoples and giving them more and more freedom at their own hands. This is breaking down the traditional theory of the right of the few as against the many, making better governments and spreading light to the remotest corners of the world.

I do not mention the system of Russia, for there is at present no definite system; but there is an assurance that in the near future Russia will have the most individualistic government on the face of the globe.

All nations are coming to a common level, which has been heightened by the example of the United States of America. Race, Religion and Language are the dividing elements of Austro-Hungary and a reconstruction period is quite imminent there, while here the force of arms has held together the strongest opposing forces for centuries. Can it be done without the force of arms? Yes; it has been done.

In the center of Europe, high up above the other nations, where the mountains come together into one

knot, dividing the falling waters into rivers that flow north and south, east and west, over the continent to the different oceans—here, from the summit of the loftiest peak, one can stand and survey the world, study Europe, and find at his feet the example of a voluntarily confederated union, of different races, religions, languages and customs, that gives the inevitable assurance that somehow and sometime the nations of the world shall come together into an International Union. The development of the government of Switzerland has been practically the reverse of that of Austria, though its peoples are even more divided in race and language, viz., the German, Italian and Frenchman, which are wholly different people, speaking different tongues and having different customs.

In Austria-Hungary the different races which were formed together under a single monarch have been straining to part and striving to assert their independence; while the history of the Swiss has been that of separate communities, of different faith, tongue and custom, uniting voluntarily for mutual protection, and learning to reconcile their discordant elements by drawing closer and closer together.

The heart of the ancient Swiss Confederation consists of the forest canton at the head of Lake Lucerne. One by one other members joined the league, some of them rural communities in the mountains, some of them cities in the lower country, and thus the Confederation gradually formed.

The Congress of Vienna consummated Switzerland's

independence, and then followed the civil war between the Protestants and Catholics. This crisis, however, brought about a more centralized government by the Constitution of 1848. The Federal power was again increased in 1874 by another Constitution.

The Confederation is composed of twenty-two cantons, each with its own peculiar laws, customs, history and habits of thought; or, rather, it would be more accurate to call the number twenty-five, for three of the cantons have, from religious, historical and other causes, split into half cantons, each of which is entirely independent of its twin, and differs from a whole canton only in two respects. The national government has only the power specially conferred upon it, each state being sovereign and having equal rights.

However, the national government has great power in local administration. It compels the cantons to provide free, compulsory and non-sectarian education, although it has no right to prescribe how the education shall be given.

The reason for the tendency toward a strongly centralized government is that the Constitution can be amended with comparative ease. The men who framed the Constitution of 1848 were deeply influenced by the example of the United States, especially in regard to the composition of the National Legislature, or Federal Assembly, as it is called. The body consists of the two branches, one of which is known as the National Council (*Conseil National, Nationalrath*) and Council of States (*Conseil des Etats, Standerath*).

They established a Federal Tribunal (*Tribunal Fédéral*, *Bundesgericht*), which resembles the Supreme Court of the United States.

While the Swiss Federal Government bears a marked resemblance to our own in many of its general outlines, in substance and in actual working it is very different; it is strong where ours is weak and weak where ours is strong. The members of the Federal Council, or the executive body, are all elected at the same time by each new Federal Assembly. They are chosen for three years, and as the work of administration is divided into seven departments, the allotment is made by an arrangement among those elected. Each Counselor presides over a separate department, and, for the sake of convenience and great efficiency, he usually retains the same one continually.

The Constitution declares that this distribution is made only to facilitate the dispatch of business, and that all decisions emanate from the Council as a whole; but, in fact, the members who do the work both of political heads and the chief under secretaries only attend to their own department, and hence the administration is supervised only by the President, who does as much in that way as he can, in addition to the particular business of his own department.

The "President of the Swiss Confederation" is one of the seven Counselors, and is elected, as is also the Vice-President, by the Federal Assembly for one year, the Constitution providing that the President nor the Vice-President shall not be the same person for two

consecutive years. By the present custom the Vice-President is elected President, so that the office passes by rotation among the members of the Council. The President has no more power than the other Counselors, and is no more responsible than they are for the course of the government. He is simply the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Nation. The labors of the Federal Council are manifold, for, besides the work of administration, it attends to a number of matters distinctly legislative and judicial.

The separation of the powers, although proclaimed in many of the cantonal constitutions, is by no means strictly carried out.

The President has no more power than either of the Counselors during Peace, but as Commander-in-Chief of the Army in time of war he has the equal power of all other rulers.

It will, then, be seen that all governments, even the loosest confederation, in order to perfect a union and guarantee its perpetuity, must have a head that is vested with absolute power during great danger to its existence by war.

It has been my purpose in analyzing these systems of government, and in particular the executive branch, to demonstrate the fact that some central power must be vested in one man in Interstate Confederations and in International Confederations as well, and that the same forces are at work binding nations together and dismembering them that have bound states together and dismembered them. Alliances have been formed and

counter alliances, until the international system is a network of interlacing ties that are becoming denser and denser, forming the fabric of an International Government, and an International System of Government may be said to exist in embryo to-day ; but the perfection of the system and the guarantee of the People's Liberties depend upon the existence of a system with the three independent co-equal and co-ordinate departments of government.

The Federal Council of Switzerland may be taken as a judicious model for an International Executive power, which might vest in a number of Counselors, one from each power represented, elected by the various parliaments, to act as an advisory Cabinet, to the President who might be appointed by an electorate of the rulers.

The Great Commoner's suggestion, made in London, while he was on his trip around the world in 1906, that "treaties of arbitration be entered into, providing that each of the contracting parties submit their '*causa belli*' to arbiters before hostilities are commenced," was the best proposal made to procure rational thought by the extension of time, and among the proposed treaties at the Second Hague Conference the American delegation submitted this measure ; so that the powers are to-day entering into International Arbitration treaties which provide for the adjudication of all controversies to the Hague Court which arise between the contracting nations before they appeal to arms.

The first Hague Conference was convoked at the

instance of the Czar of Russia, to discuss the feature of disarmament, and deserted the issue to establish the Hague Court.

The second Hague Conference was convoked by the Czar of Russia, at the instance of the President of the United States, for the purpose of substituting law for war, and, as it was represented by delegates from practically every nation which is sovereign and independent, it was a world conference.

Multitudinous proposals were made for the regulation of war, the establishment of international courts, for treaties of arbitration, future conferences, and upon miscellaneous topics; but the essence and gist of the proposals centered themselves into the one argument of establishing a High Court of International Justice, to act as an integral part of the world's judicial machinery, giving it jurisdiction over all the participating nations.

This was a proposal of David Jayne Hill, of the American delegation, and he explained that the establishment of such a Court would necessitate a more definite system of International Law and an International Law-making body would be established.

Theodore Roosevelt throughout his career has been a great reformer, but the acts that will be the most highly appreciated by future generations are the bringing about of the second Hague Conference and the Treaty of Portsmouth, which terminated the Russo-Japanese War.

He has again shown his practical purpose and dem-

onstrated he is not a dreamer by his message to Congress of April 14, 1908, advocating the immediate increase of the navy, owing to the fact that treaties of disarmament or limitations of armaments are impossible in this age of commercial competition.

He has sent the American fleet around South America in great triumph, and when our battleships circumnavigate the globe we will command the respect and admiration of the world.

The time is indeed auspicious to launch a system of International Government by electing this "Great Pacificator" the Chief Executive of the United Nations of the World.

ΣSUMMARY.

V.

ORIENT VERSUS OCCIDENT.

THERE is bound forever to be a difference between the civilizations of the East and the West, and let me say here that when we compare the Orientals and Occidentals, civilization is indeed an ambiguous term, for if we are to determine the standard of civilization according to the sphere and length of time a people is in the state of peace, then eastern civilization has attained the highest development. If we are to determine the standard of civilization according to the sphere and length of time a people is in the state of war, then western civilization has attained the highest development; for the peoples of the East have been living in the state of peace in the past centuries, while the peoples of the West have been living in the state of war.

The Ganges and Nile, the Tigris and Euphrates, the Hwang-Ho and Yangtze-Kiang are the cradles of different civilizations. Here the black, white and yellow races were nursed into society. The first great movement in the building up of a disarmed peace was brought about in the East by Tsin-Chi-Hoang-Ti, the illustrious Chinese chief who started the building of the Great Wall (25,000 kilometers long) to keep out

the Aryan nomads of the West. The Chinese did not know that in centuries to come these very people from the West would encircle the globe and invade China from the East, where she had no wall but the protection of the mighty Pacific.

As certain as it is a fact that man was born in the East, so certain is it that civilization began with its development there; and as the waters receded from the land and left it stand out above their surface, so man descended into the valleys left by the subsiding waters; and if man was born on Mount Arrarat ten thousand years ago, he has spread to the four winds; and, ever following the same direction, comes nearer and nearer to the shrine of his birth.

In the history of man we may say:

He left home alone, but comes back with a family of 15,000,000,000, increasing at the rate of ten millions a year. He has a polychrome family, each contending for superiority over the other. Many differences have hence arisen among them as the stronger color dominated the weaker.

The yellow was first supreme, then came the white, and later, possibly, will come the black, each becoming dominant in all things. The Chinese were the first people to cultivate the ways of peace, after a hard struggle of internal and external disturbance and war.

The white race has become a great warlike race and threatened to dominate or destroy the world, but their contact with the yellow race soon tamed their ardor and is making them a peace-loving people.

But the yellow race becomes more warlike on account of this contact with the white race, although its war spirit soon subsides, as is the tendency of the quick blood of the Asiatic.

It might be well to promulgate the doctrine of America for the Americans, Europe for the Europeans, Africa for the Africans, and Asia for the Asiatics; but these grand divisions of the earth's surface have come too close together to attempt their isolation, and although the question of drawing together the different nationalities of diverse religious conception is an enigma as compared with the power necessary to draw together different races of different colors and independent beliefs, yet commerce is doing it all.

To-day no nation has refrained from meddling with Asiatic or African affairs. Even the United States has stepped out into Asiatic waters to help bear the White Man's Burden. But the White Man's Burden may prove too heavy for us, and the uplifting of Asia, which comprises over two-thirds of the world's population (with the rapidity that Japan has dashed to the front), may bring regrets to the white man, for he may then become the Yellow Man's Burden.

However, it is but natural that the order of things should change in this universe with the shifting sands of time.

We might say, let the Asiatic sleep, for that race is bound to dominate the earth, simply by reason of the force of numbers. The Asiatics have all the elements necessary to make a powerful people—thrift, economy,

brightness and perseverance—and no people have such dogged determination as the Japanese, unless the Chinese, when once aroused, and the other peoples are just as capable.

In all probability the white man is regenerating an extinct race which will in time prove his superior, for again and again civilized populations have perished and revivification has taken place in the primitive organisms of man. The Asiatics are now a degenerated race that was once the highest civilization, for the Chinese discovery of gunpowder had advanced the world's civilization quite as equally as the discovery of steam and electricity. The Chinese knew the power of electricity when they used it in their compass generations ago; they knew how to disseminate knowledge by the press centuries before the western world had come to its use, and the power of the press in civilization cannot be overestimated.

We see traces all over the world of races that were in all probability once a great people in their own manner, for all civilizations are not alike.

The American Indian is a remnant of a race that had advanced the farthest west and then died out with the advance of a different civilization.

Will the Chinese die out with the advance of a different civilization?

The Esquimaux of the Polar North indicate the existence of a once mighty and sturdy race that had the strength and civilization which enabled it to march northward further than any other race, and in the last

analysis the standard of civilization is estimated by the advance of mankind against the resisting elements toward the pole, for civilizations have ever moved into a northwesterly direction in a spiral form, ever nearing the northern pole, as if attracted by terrestrial magnetism.

Only those peoples that have become the highest developed of necessity could live against this combat with nature, and it is quite evident that when a highly centralized society disintegrates under the pressure of geographic, climatic and economic conditions it is because the energy of the race has been exhausted.

Consequently, the survivors of such a community lack the power necessary for renewed concentration, and must remain inert until supplied with fresh blood and energetic material by the infusion of what is called barbarian blood.

The races have all multiplied to such numbers as their civilization would allow, and then, by reason of some natural conditions, began to decline and die out; so it is sometimes asked how far will our civilization permit the propagation of the race and of the world races. It is estimated that twenty billions of peoples have lived and perished in the past hundred centuries, and when we think that there are only one billion and a half peoples on the earth to-day, we begin to recognize that the increase in population is accelerating and civilization in general is advancing; for it is well stated that the highest civilization will support the greatest number of peoples. If this be true, the argu-

ment also holds true that the eastern peoples are in advance of the western civilization.

Of necessity there is an end to everything, and no one can foretell the exact time that a people will terminate the increase of its population, except to say that a general decline of the peoples or a decay of civilizations is due to a combination of the elements.

Ethically, civilization is regarded as the building up of the mental and moral qualities of man; it is the rounding out of the body, mind and soul; and, in the light of this definition, the Easterner may be regarded as semi-civilized, because he absolutely forgets his body, and the Westerner may be regarded as semi-civilized, as he forgets his soul.

In the light of the former assertions one might feel prone to look to the forward in a gloomy sense of foreboding, for it seems like the teaching of the fatalistic doctrine of "whatever is, is best."

To be sure, every step in progress, means that a larger and larger portion of the globe is being drawn into a keener struggle for existence; that the very improvement in the industrial arts conduces to providing a larger food supply, but with severe toil; and that the race is steadily growing toward a desperate plight when the numbers will be far greater than the earth can substantially sustain, and the misery of the great majority will become intense.

But the optimistic law of the survival of the fittest is ever at work, as it is a law of nature and comes to their rescue. And yet I believe that all human law is

to adjust the injustice of this law of nature, which causes all war and strife; and, as it is necessary that law and order should be established everywhere, there should be an effective police throughout the known world, which can only be established by an international system of government. This law of self-preservation is a force which brings about civilization, and, like all powers, it has its bad feature: that it can be used as equally to cause suffering as well as ease, barbarism as well as civilization, and war as well as peace. Governments—state, national or international—are interferences with this natural law and at the very foundations of society; but only on this cosmopolitan system is it possible to give security to life and property, and yet to be willing to leave radical habits and national customs comparatively unaffected, and to allow the perpetuation and diffusion of the best social elements in the communities which are brought under western control.

Also, if China is the commercial prize of the Orient, and is bound to become the carcass upon which will prey the vultures of international greed, these black birds which are hovering over that effete state, alighting upon the richest portions, are bound to come into conflict, unless they are organized to harmony; and after this body becomes regenerated it will arise like a Goliath and smite these western birds of greed. The catastrophe which statesmen have foreseen and shuddered at for two generations is being precipitated by this headlong rush of financiers and traders; for

commerce may be the black-bird of war as well as the white-winged dove of peace. The dove of peace has hatched, but who knows when the end of all wars will come? for the method of opening markets at the victor's mouth and exploiting commercial concessions by force of arms shall produce grave results; a development of the yellow race is bound to come up against the white race, thus consolidating the yellow race into a unity of action to save itself from Yellow (War) Peril, which was, in fact, the (War) Peril taught to the yellow man. The future question is White or Yellow, Christian or Buddhist; and while China is leased to the world for exploitation by reason of her weakness, will the world resuscitate her so that she can terminate the lease, or shall the sphere of influence become a perpetual title by limitation?

Will the great Yellow reservoir of humanity, which composes one-third of the world's population, break its banks and overflow the world? Although it may be undesirable for the white world, it may be inevitable and in the order of the universe. Will the White Cream and the Yellow Tea make a better beverage? Is not the pouring of this cream into the tea the cause of the Yellow Peril, for is not the flow of western civilization into the eastern waking up the Far East?

If we compare in figures the propagation of the eastern and the western peoples we can readily see which will dominate. Under one-tenth the facilities Easterners propagate with ten times the rapidity

their western creature, and as the cream disappears in the tea, so do a white man's children disappear with a yellow woman, or, conversely, also a white woman's children with a yellow man. Inter-marriage would make the whole world yellow. Which is the strongest sexually? Is, then, the whole world to become yellow?

It is easy to speculate, but impossible to predict; but the first consequences are not hard to foresee. It is said that women as well as men like the yellow consort on account of superior sexuality. (Let me say here that, although international marriages are not a filial success, these intermatrimonial ties are assisting strongly to compact the nations into a solidarity.) What race is more hard-working and more economical than the Chinese, and what would their free immigration to all parts of the world mean? As I have stated, civilization is ever flowing around the world in a spiral form, toward the north pole; the most dominant nations having ever been the most northwesternly during the apogee of their existence. Babylon, Greece, Rome, France, England and America are in this spiral course, and who knows how many civilizations have swept around the earth in the same general direction, only spending their force after they had reached the pole? If there ever was paradise upon the earth, it must certainly have been at the pole, before the earth had cooled sufficiently to starve out human existence; for the highest civilized peoples must have reached the farthest north; so that before the frosting of the earth at the polar ends, the highest civilization

lived in the most extreme north, in a temperature a climate that is most inconceivable, and in but long night and one long day.

As the earth is cooling, civilization can only proach the circumference of the icy coat that is spreading toward the equator, ever usurping its field of action, until he will entirely perish with cold death of old mother earth.

Are, then, the Esquimaux the remnant of the peoples who once really lived in paradise and were hunted out by this avalanche, the frosting of the earth? Is the North American Indian a weak contingent of once mighty race?

Is the Asiatic a race that had reached its high civilization before its advance farther northward, is the Westerner regenerating this race, which, a new energy, will migrate again toward the new western corner of the world? Will the great Yellow reservoir break and spread into Siberia against all possible human restraining, or will the western world bank it up and allow the great Slavic peoples to develop prolific Siberia? This is the immediate question of serious importance.

Or, is it not possible that the black race of Africa is really the strongest race sexually and physically? It is proving itself to be in America, and its results will make it a great force in the future? Who knows?

Individualism and liberty have ever flowed forward with civilization, and despotism and militarism is ever at its heels; so the western world has been

militaristic and is now inoculating the yellow race with the virus of war.

This is the real crime against China and against ourselves, and we shall suffer for it, for China was a disarmed state, and a most perfect ideal for the western world, as the Orient is an empire of peace and the Occident an empire of war; but the very opposite will become true by reason of our teaching war to the multitude in the ethical East. The yellow man teaches no war, but peace, while the white man preaches peace and practices war; and we may well say that the yellow people are cultured in peace, while the white people are civilized in war. It may be argued that if we arm the yellow race it will disarm the white race; for the white man's crusade against war is inconsistent with his armaments in China, and as the virus of bubonic plague is not near so dangerous as the virus of militarism, which is being inoculated into Japan, India and China, we shall suffer for our inconsistency and hypocrisy. Speak of civilization and you speak of war, for when you speak of the uncivilized heathen you speak of the yellow, brown or black peace-loving man, but pray tell me who is in the highest stage of moral development, he who teaches peace or he who preaches war? The Chinese are three thousand years ahead of our civilization instead of being three thousand years behind it.

We do not understand their civilization; yet by contact we are rapidly moving toward its realization, for what the yellow race is to-day the white race will

be to-morrow. The white race is not only tea the yellow man to fight, but also the black man, is to-day in the highest stage of individualism anarchy on the continent of Africa. In the nature the order of things the anarchistic stage is the and the last in the development and decay of so for civilization begins in savagery and ends thus.

The yellow man has retained peace over one of the human race for centuries without the for arms, and now the great Chinese peace is broken the white man. Where in the history of the world there such an example of brotherly love and content peace over such an empire of peoples? It seems crime of crimes for the western world to disturb peace, for when the nations, under the sphere of influence, develop sections of China into European states, are they not dividing this Empire into sections of hostility? Are they not teaching them to fight their own brothers, their own kin and blood?

But will the Chinese not in time learn the folly of this system of pitting themselves against each other and will they not rise in their might against the white race? In the name of Christian civilization, what are we doing? What can avert this appalling catastrophe?

However, as I have stated, the reaction of China is bound to consolidate the Christian world into a common defense but will it be too late even for a common defense there shall come about a United Western World against a United Eastern World?

Under the banner of "Peace on earth, good will

ward men," the Christian nations are marching their armies to prepare for war against the most peaceful and peace-loving peoples the world has ever known. Christianity chants, "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God"; but in the wake of Christian civilization follows the army and the bloody trail of war, and although man was modeled in the image of his Creator, out of the earth, still to the earth shall he crumble like earthly ruins for his sins. His soul is immortal, but his body is mortal, and his being is only relative to his environment; for we find the geographical environment playing the greatest part in human development and humanity's destinies. Geographical environment has created races, languages, religions and customs; it has formed nations and cities and broken them up again; it has united the peoples and divided them again; it has provided western civilization with a common religion as a basis for a common tie of unity, which is proving to be the strongest ligament in the unity of action in the Far East.

What, then, is the conclusion of the whole matter? Is not the white race getting closer and closer together, and is there not a tendency toward the consolidation of the yellow race to check the White Peril, and, conversely, a unification of the white race to ward off the Yellow Peril? Common dangers cause common interests. Is not the Christian world getting closer together, and is not the Buddhist world uniting? Did not race prejudice divide the world into friends and

enemies? Do not different religions have the same effect? Yet why is the Buddhist becoming more Christian, and why is the Christian becoming more Buddhist? Why are they both, the eastern and the western civilization, becoming more and more alike? What is bringing the peoples, the world over, to a closer and commoner level? Association. What is bringing about this association? Trade and commerce. What is bringing about this commerce? The want of man.

England may be the Commercial Empire of to-day, but the United States of America is the Commercial Empire of to-morrow; and England and the United States are closer together than any other two powers, for they have one more bond than language, for they are more united on religion, being both "Protestant."

I am led to believe by my own arguments that the United States of America justify the United States of Europe, and foreordain that, through a bond with little England, the two great continents may confederate into the United Nations of the World, to hold in check the Oriental invasion.

The Great International Pantomime is being enacted. "The black man is serving his white master. He stumbles; Turkey falls; China is broken up and Africa is humiliated."

Germany has the common tie of language with Austria, but is sorely divided on religion, while France, Italy and Spain are drawing closer and closer together as the remaining Latin-European community.

All these tendencies are manifest, and greater and greater states are bound to grow out of the divisions of the old continent, leaving China and Africa to be the modern spheres of exploitation. In 1815, during the Congress of Vienna, Africa had but a fringe of western civilization, but to-day it is divided up piecemeal among the great powers.

France dug the Suez Canal in 1869, but England bought such an interest in the stock that she has joint control in probably the most prolific commercial investment in the Old World. On May 2, 1884, the German flag was informally hoisted at Anga Pequeua, and, although the British Government was taken by surprise, it recognized the German protectorate. On August 7 this was formally proclaimed and the German imperial standard was broken; she had launched a Colonial Empire.

A great outcry was at once raised by the International African Association against the idea of landing armies over the vast regions by the most militaristic of European states, and the suggestion was made that the whole question should be laid before a Conference of Powers.

The scramble for Africa had, in fact, by this time resulted in a situation so confused and so pregnant with possible quarrels that it was more than expedient that some general principles should be laid down by international authority as to the future development of the partition.

The Conference assembled at Berlin on November

15, 1884, and remained in session until January 30, 1885.

Three main questions on which it had to give a decision were that of the Congo, of the Niger, and the conditions on which fresh annexations should be regarded as valid. On the first of these the decision was to recognize the International African Association as an independent state, under the title of the Congo Free State. Finally, it was decided that occupation of coast territory, to be valid, must be effective, and at the same time the obligations attached to "Sphere of Influence," a term new to diplomacy, were defined. Apart from the intrinsic importance of these decisions, the Conference of Berlin marks an epoch in the world's history.

With the exception of Switzerland, all the European states were represented in it; but, what was of greater significance, the United States of America, for the first time, shared in the deliberations of Europe. It was a foreshadowing of the momentous change in the center of gravity at the close of the century. Later the Spanish-American War brought America into play in the theater of the World's Politics by the declaration of the Colonial Policy, which is ever the complement to empire. The process had already begun, which was accentuated by the Conference at The Hague, the idea of the Concert of Europe expanding into the ideal of the Concert of the World, thus evidencing the fact that Expansion brings conflict, and

conflict fights itself into union, for destructive competition creates monopoly.

Old issues are being obliterated by new ones of greater and vaster importance and magnitude. The European Alliance at Berlin attempted to keep the Peace of Europe, and now the International Court of Arbitration has superseded all those small treaties, that had ever grown larger and involved greater territory and more peoples until it involves the civilized world. It has the international law as expounded by treaties, the law as expounded by the text writers, the law of human nature, which works both for and against it. Will it succeed?

Besides the powers of Europe, there were represented at the first Conference the United States, Mexico, Japan, China, Persia and even Siam, showing that the frontier of civilization is broadening over the earth. But reflect a moment. The East and West have joined hands on the battle-ground of Europe and declared for the Federation of the World, the Court of Justice, the Parliament of Man and the Administration of Peace. Will it bind the East to the West? Politically, the world is one; economically, it is and always will be two—the East against the West. Radically, religiously, linguistically, it is many, but the force of interest is obliterating all these differences.

The whole Japanese question is very simple, and is simply this: Japan has been successful in every war she has undertaken in modern times and has reaped

great benefits under the old idea, "To the victor belong the spoils."

The policy of expansion with Japan is an extreme necessity, owing to a congested population to the number of fifty millions of human souls inhabiting a territory not equal in area to one of the smaller of the United States. The little yellow reservoir had to burst, and is flowing in all directions and taking root under even the most unfavorable conditions, for Japan is destined to dominate the Orient. The success of the Japanese reminds me of the statement a Japanese colleague made to me before the War, when I asked him what would be the outcome of their success. With a smile he said, "Japan will annex Russia."

Corea, which is larger than Japan, has been subjugated, and is now under Japanese control and being rapidly populated by Japanese.

This gives Japan the much-coveted foothold upon Asiatic mainland, for, speaking of ultimate international results, islands are but outposts.

She knows that the immediate great international question is the control of the Pacific, and that the nation which controls the Pacific by the possession and fortification of the strategic points is destined to control and dominate the world. She knows that Hawaii is the doorway to the portals of universal empire, and that on this island are destined to stand the fortifications that will make it the citadel of the united world.

The Philippines and other Pacific islands are points of very great importance as accessories in this strug-

gle for supremacy, and the Panama Canal is the key to the entire situation.

Japan has disarmed Russia and has put her back in the race for the control of the Pacific, so that the only country she is competing with now is the United States, for they are to-day the closest in the race for the goal.

Further, Japan knows that if she strikes now she only strikes at the United States, in an unprepared condition; but if she will strike after the Chinese become a military power under her control she will strike at the whole world, because then the Yellow Peril will become so manifest that it shall force the White Peril to unify against it.

This illustration again shows that the progress of civilization aggravates the destructibility of war by pitting against each other broader and broader areas and resources and greater numbers of people, with their accumulated wealth; but it can be reasonably asked whether or not the multitude of petty conflicts which are being thus put off would not have excelled the greater conflicts in destructiveness of life and property.

The Vancouver incident has plainly proven that the California persecution of the Japanese was exaggerated by the Japanese and used as a subterfuge to bring on an immediate conflict. The Government of Japan does not, however, evidently agree with the Jingoists as to whether war at present is beneficial or proper, and it is hard to reckon who is correct as to pecuniary benefit, although there is no question that all war is

wrong and improper, and particularly a war of aggrandizement, which is practically piracy.

The real question, then, is: Shall the world be white or yellow?

I have emphatically pointed out that civilization has swept around the world; that the peace-loving peoples of the East have become inoculated with the war spirit of the West, and are proving to be greater masters in the art of war than their tutors themselves. So, as the world state of Greece was taught to fight by the Phœnicians, whom she finally conquered in the world conflict of the Ægean, as the Romans were taught to fight by the Greeks, whom they finally conquered in the world conflict on the Mediterranean, and as the Americans defeated the English on the Atlantic, so are the Occidentals teaching the Orientals the science of war, only to be defeated on the Pacific in the fight for international dominance, in the battle for a Universal Empire of Peace. Who shall be the victor?

One of the most significant facts in the second Hague Conference was that the new power of Japan and China had taken part in its deliberations and had become full members of the International group.

The first Conference failed in its primary motive of "disarmament," but when it provided the Court of Arbitration it moved into the right direction, at the right time; and if the second Conference at The Hague had done nothing else, but, establish the Peace Conference as a permanent Congress of Nations, as it did, it has made a most wonderful stride toward the

establishment of an International Government, and hence Universal Peace.

Disarmament can only be an incident to economic equanimity and is impracticable in this age of diverse interest; but the Court is here to settle future International differences and the Commercial Courts will soon follow. The armed forces of the world will stand behind the decree of the Court only when the other branches of government are organized, and the success of the Court will build up an International Juristic System; it will build up an International Parliamentary System; it will build up an International Executive System and complete a government.

All the necessities of an International Government and political system, are to-day living in embryo in the Hague Court. The code on which the decisions of an international tribunal will have to be based will necessarily be the sum of existing treaties, and these will act as the common law to the International Parliament that will necessarily be created for codifying International Law. The Executive is of necessity the next and last step in the perfection of this international system.

Only by this system can the world hold its equilibrium, while the development goes on as nations rise and fall, as races fail and decay, and civilization is moving toward the light, for the pressure of shifting populations shift the gravity centers, and circumstances are sure to arise, during which the continental barriers

erected by the past must go down before the irresistible pressure of the struggle for existence.

Alexander I. of Russia attempted to unite the world in the Holy Alliance and failed. Is his grandson, Nicholas II., to fail in his great project? No!

The tragic events of China have once more, after many years, brought the nations shoulder to shoulder in a common cause. The new century opens with a greater fear; it opens, too, with a greater hope—hope that, as once the city states of Hellas, long divided by bitter hates and rivalries, united at last in common resistance to the barbarian of the East, so the nations of the western world, brought face to face with alien and hostile forces of the eastern world, may, in spite of countless jealousies and misunderstandings, grow in time to realize their unity in all that constitutes a nation—in their common origin, their common traditions, their common interests.

However different may be the civilization of the Orient from that of the Occident, we cannot fail to find great likeness, even where we find the greatest difference, and cannot help but foresee the realization of Universal Peace by a system of International Government, in which all the races and peoples of this earth shall finally merge.

Yes! as we survey the world to-day there is everywhere an apparent tendency toward a common solidarity; for, in fact, peace and truth are sought with both sides of the shield; all races teach love, all religions

preach self-sacrifice, and all languages are full of the expressions of truth, peace and brotherhood.

"Ex Oriente Lux."

CONCLUSION.

I BELIEVE that I have demonstrated that International War will cease, by reason of the fact that it is economic suicide as well as human suicide.

I have shown that International War will cease—

First—Because International boundaries are fading away and the world is becoming one state.

Second—Because an International Government is being established which will supersede all governments as the final arbiter of international dispute by judicial determination, by parliamentary legislation and executive administration.

FINIS.

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